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<i>Max Weber</i>	Paul Honigsheim
<i>Education Selectivity</i>	Paul H. Landis
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Max Weber As Rural Sociologist

In Commemoration of the 25 Anniversary of his Death

Paul Honigsheim†

Editor's Note: This contribution by Professor Honigsheim is timely for two reasons: (1) it commemorates the 25th anniversary of Max Weber's death and (2) it deals with European rural problems which are of greatest importance at the present moment. Since Professor Honigsheim was one of Weber's closest friends and collaborators, and since his own field of speciality is social theory and history, having for many years taught, investigated in and contributed to the scientific literature of these disciplines he writes with real authority in the following article. From 1909 until the beginning of World War I he visited frequently with Max Weber. Afterwards Honigsheim continued in correspondence with Marianne Weber, wife of Max Weber. Among other things the author wrote the article "Zur Soziologie der Mittelalterlichen Scholastik" as a contribution to the *Symposium Hauptprobleme der Soziologie, Erinnerungsgabe für Max Weber*, Menchen und Leipzig, Dunker und Humblot, 1923, edited in commemoration of Max Weber after his death, and published four articles dealing with Max Weber mentioned in footnote 1 of this paper.

ABSTRACT

Max Weber is known in the United States as methodologist and pioneer in the field of sociology of religion. From the beginning of his scientific career he was also interested in and participated in rural sociological investigations.

This article, after an explanation of the man and character considers him as a rural sociologist, especially dealing with the following topics: (1) relation between seigniors and dependents, (2) entails or feoffments in trust, (3) Polish minorities, and (4) the structure of rural Russia, before and after the collapse of Czarism.

RESUMEN

Max Weber es conocido en los Estados Unidos como metodólogo y explorador en los campos de la sociología y la religión. Desde el principio de su carrera científica se interesó también y participó en investigaciones rurales sociológicas.

Este artículo, después de explicar al hombre y su carácter, lo considera como sociólogo rural, y trata especialmente de los siguientes tópicos: (1) Relación entre los dueños y sus dependientes, (2) mayorazgos o investiduras, (3) las minorías polacas, y (4) la estructura rural de Rusia antes y después de la caída del zarismo.

The United States will be obliged to participate in a decisive way in the rehabilitation of chaotic Europe in general, and of its rural life in particular. This task is inextricably connected with the political problems related to the penetration of the Soviets and their collective farms into central

and southeastern Europe. In this connection at least three types of rural organizations come into consideration: (1) Feudalism was and still is in existence in Germany, east of the Elbe, in Poland and in the Rumanian lowland, and was found in its extremist form until recently, as feoffment in trust (*Fideikommiss*). This latter term denotes a relatively large estate,

† Michigan State College.

being the property of a privileged family and, therefore, not able to be brought up for sale, even if the owning family is indebted. (2) The rural collectivity existed in the past as *Zadruga* in Serbia and as *Mir* in Russia and at the present time as *Artel* in the Soviet Republics. (3) The independent peasant's farm existed and exists to a greater or less extent in some parts of Eastern Europe, including Germany.

In the United States neither feudalism nor collective farms existed except in the South and in a few remote sectarian groups. Accordingly it may be difficult for Americans to appraise these European phenomena. Under such circumstances it may be of importance to know the viewpoint of Max Weber in regard to these problems, for he was one of the most outstanding among the German sociologists, economists, and politicians of the era before, during, and after World War I. Max Weber was very familiar with the United States, their economic and sociological viewpoint, through his studies and travels, and was, therefore, able to compare the Old and New Worlds. Both his friends and enemies agree in considering him a man of vast knowledge, keen methodological perception, incorruptible objectivity, and genuine sense of justice. While he was known in Europe as much for his rural sociological interests as for his researches in historical and theoretical fields, in the U. S. A. he is known almost exclusively, not as a rural sociologist, but as a methodologist

and pioneer in the field of the sociology of religion. He will be considered in this paper primarily as a rural sociologist. A few preliminary words on his personality and background may be in order at this point.¹

¹After the death of Max Weber almost all of his publications have been collected and edited by his widow, Marianne Weber, in part with the help of friends. The volumes and the articles within them, coming into consideration for us, are the following: M. Weber, *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, Muenchen, Drei Masken Verlag, 1921, (Especially the following articles: "Der Nationalstaat und die Volkswirtschaftspolitik," cited in the following footnotes "Nationalstaat," "Zwischen zwei Gesetzen," cited "Gesetz," "Bismarcks Aussenpolitik und die Gegenwart," cited "Bismarck," "Deutschland unter den europaeischen Weltmaechten," cited "Weltmaechte," "Deutschlands aeuessere und Preussens innere Politik," cited "Deutschland," "Russlands Uebergang zur Scheindemokratie," cited "Russland," "Wahlrecht und Demokratie in Deutschland," cited "Wahlrecht," "Innere Lage und Aussenpolitik," cited "Innere," "Politik als Beruf," cited "Politik"); *idem*, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, Muenchen und Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1923, cited "Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaezte zur Religionssoziologie*, *Ibid.*, 1921-1922, cited "Religion"; *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaezte zur Wissenschaftslehre*, *Ibid.*, 1922, (Especially the following articles: "Die Objektivitaet sozialwissenschaftlicher und sozialpolitischer Erkenntnis," cited "Objektivitaet," "Der Sinn der Wertfreiheit der soziologischen und oekonomischen Wissenschaften," cited "Wertfreiheit," "Wissenschaft als Beruf," cited "Wissenschaft"); *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaezte zur Soziologie und Sozialpolitik*, *Ibid.*, 1924, (Especially the following articles: "Argarstatistische und sozialpolitische Betrachtungen zur Fideikommissfrage in Preussen," cited "Fideikommiss," "Der Sozialismus," cited "Sozialismus"); *idem*, *Gesammelte Aufsaezte zur Sozial und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, *Ibid.*, 1924, (Especially the following articles: "Agrarverhaeltnisse im Altertum," cited "Agrarverhaeltnisse," "Die Sozialen Gruende des Unterganges der antiken Kulture," cited "Untergang," "Die laendliche Arbeitsver-

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fassung," cited "Arbeit," "Entwicklungstendenzen in der Lage der ostelbischen Landarbeiter," cited "Entwicklung," "Der Streit um den Charakter der Altgermanischen Sozialverfassung," cited "Altgermanisch," Publications dealing with Max Weber: Marianne Weber, *Max Weber, Ibid.*, 1926, cited "Marianne Weber;" the epistemological and methodological background is dealt with in the following publications: T. Abel, *Systematic Sociology in Germany*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1929, pp. 116-159; H. Becker, "Culture Case Study and Ideal-Typical Method; with special reference to Max Weber," *Social Forces*, Vol. 12 New York 11, New York, 1934, pp. 403f.; H. P. Jordan, "Some Philosophical Implications of Max Weber's Methodology," *Ethics*, Vol. 48, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 221-231; A. Liebert, "Max Weber," *Preussische Jahrbuecher*, Vol. 210, Berlin, Stilke, 1927, pp. 304-320; J. P. Mayer, *Max Weber and German Politics*, London, Faber and Faber, Ltd., N. D., p. 30; H. Rickert, "Max Weber und seine Stellung zur Wissenschaft," *Logos*, Vol. 15, Tuebingen, Mchr, 1926, pp. 222-237; R. Wilbrandt, "Max Weber als Erkenntniskritiker der Sozialwissenschaften," *Zeitschrift fuer die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Vol. 79, Tuebingen, Laupp, 1925, pp. 584-674. The whole personality, the religious and ethical background is dealt with in the following publications: C. Diehl, "The Life and Work of Max Weber," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 38, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1924, pp. 87-107; P. Honigsheim, "Max Weber als Soziologe," *Koelner Vierteljahrshefte fuer Soziologie*, Vol. 1, Muenchen und Leipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1921; *idem*, "Der Max Weber-Kreis in Heidelberg," *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, 1926, pp. 271-287; *idem*, "Max Webers geistesgeschichtliche Stellung," *Die Volkswirte*, V. 29, *Ibid.*, 1930; *idem* "Max Weber," *Internationales Handwoerterbuch des Gewerkschaftswesens*, Berlin, Werk und Wirtschaft, 1932; E. Hula, "Max Weber Scholar and Politician," *The Contemporary Review*, Vol. 134, London 1928; K. Jaspers, *Max Weber*, Oldenburg, Gerhard Stalling, 1932; K. Loewith, "Max Weber und Karl Marx," *Archiv fuer Sozialwissenschaft*, Vol. 67, Tuebingen, Mohr, 1932, pp. 53-99, 175-214; J. P. Mayer, "Sociology of Politics," *The Dublin Review*, Vol. 207, London, Burns, Oates, and Washburn, 1940, pp. 188-196; A. Mettler, *Max Weber und die philosophische Problematik unserer Zeit*, Zuerich, Elgg, N. D.; T. Parson, "Capitalism in Recent German Literature," *The Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 36, Chicago, The University of Chicago

Max Weber was successively a lawyer, a teacher of Roman and Commercial law, and a professor of economics in Freiburg and Heidelberg. Because he was overworked and ill during 15 years while in Heidelberg, he neither taught nor appeared publicly. Later he re-entered politics during World War I and after the peace treaties for a short time before his death he was professor of sociology in Munich. The basic element of his spiritual life was a religiously founded ethical categorical imperative, which drove him to two duties: (1) to investigate scientific topics objectively, i.e., by eliminating personal bias and judgements of value within the historico-economic-sociological sphere,² and (2) to make individual decisions and remain loyal to his convictions in the spheres of religion, ethics, and politics.³

As a politician Max Weber shifted from moderate liberalism to a more radical democratic conviction which was not of a *laissez-faire* character, but which on the contrary led him to

Press, 1929, pp. 31-51; *idem*, "A. M. Robertson on Max Weber and His School," *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, 1935, pp. 688-696; A. M. Robertson, *Aspects of the Rise of Economic Individualism, A Criticism of Max Weber and his School*, Cambridge, The University Press, 1933; G. v. Schulze-Gaevernitz, "Max Weber als Nationaloekonom und Politiker," *Hauptprobleme der Soziologie, Erinnerungsgabe fuer Max Weber*, Vol. 1, Muenchen und Beipzig, Duncker und Humblot, 1923, pp. XIII-XXI. No one of these publications deals especially with Max Weber as Rural Sociologist. The present author will deal with "Max Weber as Historian of Agriculture" in a special article.

² Objectivitaet, pp. 175-178; Wertfreiheit, pp. 485-502; Wissenschaft, pp. 542-555.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 543; Politik, pp. 440 f.; Gesetz, pp. 60-63.

work within the influential "Verein fuer Sozialpolitik" for state supported social policies. Oriented by his studies in the comparative history of rural life and institutions⁴ he debated four rural political problems, three of which involved Eastern Germany: (1) the social situation of seigniors and dependents, (2) feoffment in trust, (3) Polish minorities, and (4) the structure of rural Russia before and after the collapse of Czarism. The discussion on the following pages is developed around these four topics.

I. *The Social position of seigniors and dependents* is to Max Weber a special case of the sociological phenomenon known as "feudalism." This is a pattern of social life, closely connected with one of Weber's three types of leadership, i.e., the traditional one. Here the leader is obeyed, neither because he is supposed to be a unique individual, nor because there exists a written law in an institutionalized society, making him a bureaucrat, but rather because of tradition.⁵ Max Weber investigates and describes the sociological phenomena arising out of this traditionalistic feudalism, such as the special concept of honor and luxury, the denial of the calculating and capitalistic mentality, and the refusal to be involved in trade.⁶ But independent of this general sociologico-classificatory interest, he had the special and practical interest in and aversion to the power of the Prussian "Junkers."

⁴ *Agrarverhaeltnisse, passim; Untergang, passim; Altgermanisch, passim.*

⁵ *Wirtschaft, pp. 130-139.*

⁶ *Ibid., pp. 635, 732 ff., 750 ff.*

This situation he describes and judges as follows:

The feudal owners of large rural estates were the regular political leaders in the majority of rural societies in the past. In England⁷ they have continued to the present time and in eastern Germany until recently.⁸ Here actually the leading social class was scattered over the entire land; their castles and estates were centers of power and they themselves were political autocrats, economically self-satisfied, with little knowledge in economics and without much interest in business. Their subordinates⁹ were not only domestic servants and valets in the manors of the seigniors, but were either permanent or transient rural workers, the latter being hired from surrounding villages. The former were not unmarried, but had families, and were obliged, if their families had too few workers, to hire themselves a substitute called "Scharwerker;" all these were largely paid in kind, which made them believe that they had the same economic interests as their employers. They accepted this traditional situation without any opposition owing to the indoctrination they had received for many generations.

Changes have occurred during recent decades¹⁰ due to the higher standard of living of the bourgeois class in the cities. Especially now it was necessary for the Junkers to

⁷ *Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p. 108; Wahlrecht, p. 307.*

⁸ *Entwicklung, pp. 471, 474.*

⁹ *Ibid., pp. 474, 479.*

¹⁰ *Ibid., p. 472.*

maintain their social supremacy and to attempt to raise their own standard; but the manor, thus managed was not capable of maintaining the living standard of a noble family. The sons had to become officers in the army or members of very exclusive, and expensive student associations, and the daughters, in order to be married according to their rank, were supposed to have a big dowry. Thus the Junkers were obliged to become entrepreneurs with an increasingly "bourgeois" mentality and accordingly changed their attitude toward their subordinates.¹¹ The importance of perquisites decreased, while cash payments and the number of persons receiving them increased. The dependents also began to prefer this method although it was less secure but offered greater independency. They also began to develop antagonism toward the proprietor, even an inclination to class struggle and some of them emigrated to the cities to become factory workers. Last, but not least, the nobles felt themselves compelled to change the interrelationship between political power and economic status. Formerly they had based their political power on their unshaken and undisputed economic status; now they found it necessary to maintain their seriously threatened economic status through political power. The result was that they became an economic group which turned into a pressure group using political resources for economic class purposes.

This was done by enacting new state laws favoring the maintenance of the economic productivity of their estates especially by requiring laws protecting the feoffment in trust.

II. *The feoffment in trust*, according to Weber, although it had already been known in ancient Indies, was re-originated in Byzanz, where land, to avoid its confiscation by the Emperor, was transferred to the Church under the agreement that nine-tenths of the land rent be paid to the family. From the Greek-Roman Empire this institution shifted to the Mohammedans, with them to Christian Spain and from there to England and other Christian countries, including Prussia.¹² Here, under the pressure of the "Junkers," the government published in 1903 the draft of a new bill concerning feoffment. Immediately after its publication Max Weber, who had already shown an interest in the problem¹³ and continued later to maintain his interest in this field,¹⁴ collected material and published his criticism, protest, and his own program. He describes the situation as having existed hitherto as follows:¹⁵

Land which has relatively high and riskless rent, has a tendency to be incorporated into feoffments. This arose in considerable part because those capitalists who had all the money they wanted but desired security, desired to invest money in such land, in that way obtaining nobility

¹¹ Religion, Vol. III, p. 160; Wirtschaftsgeschichte, p. 107; Wirtschaft, p. 743.

¹² Marianne Weber, p. 342.

¹³ Deutschland, pp. 99-106.

¹⁴ Fideikommiss, pp. 329, 331 f., 369, 372 f.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 473, 475 ff., 479 f., 489, 493; Arbeit, pp. 479 ff.

from the monarch, and gaining the opportunity of living on the standard of an highly esteemed "rentier." This possibility would even increase if through tariffs protecting the grain production, the land-rent of grain-producing land could be maintained and even increased.¹⁶

The draft of the new bill provided¹⁷ for the possibility of the establishment of new feoffments with the king's permission and pretended to protect and strengthen by such measures the interest in family and home. In opposition to this, Weber asserts¹⁸ that it is the intention of the government to combine protectionism with feoffments, thus to maintain, and to create artificially big estates, giving to the capitalistic bourgeoisie class the opportunity of becoming nobles, thus making them conservatives dependent upon the supporters of the monarchy, and allies of the declining eastern nobility. He opposes the new bill for this reason and believes—as he will also repeat later¹⁹—that the effects of existing feoffment are the following:²⁰ Capital which Germany should use in trade, is removed out of the World's trade and industry, peasants are driven from good to bad land; rural workers settle down definitively on or near to the feoffment's land, become again bound to the soil and in reality dependent upon the landlord, as happened in the feudal era; rural work-

ers not willing to accept such a situation, are induced to emigrate, and the owners themselves to hire foreign seasonal workers.

Under such circumstances, Weber had always opposed²¹ every measure calculated to hinder rural workers from moving to the city or to return them back to their former rural districts, or to have them settle as small part time farmers on or near the large estates. He concedes²² feoffments for only a small percentage of soil used mostly for forestry but insists that all the other feoffments, which already exist, or the establishment of which may be asked for, should be eliminated. As a transitory measure he requires²³ expropriation with compensation of the untenable large estates by the state, the conversion of this land in demesnes, the assignment on leave of the latter to crown-land-lessees, and the protection of the workers hired by and dependent upon these tenants with a contract which should be signed by both the state and the lessees.

The government became enraged at this sharp opposition and criticism by the Heidelberg Professor but felt itself impelled to withdraw the draft of the bill. Thus actually Weber was successful, but only to some extent, for neither his claim for abolition of feoffment nor the positive part of his program became realized, and the Polish minority problem in rural Eastern Germany also remained, the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 322 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 324-327.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 338, 379, 381.

¹⁹ *Deutschland*, pp. 100-104.

²⁰ *Fideikommiss*, pp. 357, 359, 391.

²¹ *Arbeit*, pp. 459 f., 462 f.

²² *Fideikommiss*, pp. 361, 378.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 466 ff., *Entwicklung*, p. 507.

other aspect of the feoffment question.

III. *The Polish minority in rural Eastern Germany* originated thus: By the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th Century, some of the Poles had become subjects and later citizens of Prussia and Germany respectively. Previously, feudalism in Poland had been even stronger than in Prussia and the latter had to some extent protected the Polish lower rural classes from the nobility which caused the Polish masses for some decades of the 19th Century to acquiesce to Prussian domination. With an increasing tendency toward Prussification and with a simultaneous development toward Russification, Polish Catholic propaganda arose against Prussian Protestantism and against Russian Greek-Orthodoxism, thus making the antagonism between the nations more acute. This manifested itself, among other things, in the Prussian laws, which restricted sharply the use of the Polish language in the Eastern provinces.

Max Weber had always strictly opposed anti-Polish language laws,²⁴ acknowledging at the same time the loyalty of the Poles in Upper Silesia,²⁵ but from the very beginning of his public appearance he likewise opposed the increasing Polonization of the East. Because of this and other reasons, he blamed the "Junkers" and the conservative party.²⁶ His ac-

cusation ran somewhat as follows: They give themselves an air of nationalism but actually sacrifice national good for their own socio-economic interests. These "Junkers" use hired Polish seasonal workers coming from Russian-Polish districts because of the cheapness of the labor and the absence of any obligation to furnish welfare assistance in time of need. Last, but not least, the feoffment in trust as they are, and most of all as they would be, if the bill mentioned in the previous section became law, would increase, for reasons mentioned above, the amount of seasonal workers, especially those of Polish descent. Only Poles²⁷ would be willing to settle on or near the large estates of the manor holders in the completely dependent form described above. Therefore Weber's twofold challenge:²⁸ Forbid the entrance of Polish seasonal workers, coming from Polish-Russia into Eastern-Germany and abolish the feoffments, especially for advancing Polish immigration. Apparently the national point of view plays a role in Weber's thinking but it is not the most important. This emphasis upon the national viewpoint comes to light here because he considered it his duty to labor where God or destiny had put him; and one of these values according to him is the nation. This national point of view was not the only one which led Weber to the anti-feoffment campaign, but rather it was his religiously-founded deep sympathy for the lower classes.

²⁴ Bismarck, p. 41 f., *Weltmacht*, p. 89.

²⁵ *Wirtschaft*, p. 225, 629.

²⁶ *Nationalstaat*, pp. 15 f., Bismarck, p. 41., *Deutschland*, p. 95., Marianne Weber, pp. 229 f., 237, 542.

²⁷ *Fideikommiss*, p. 360.

²⁸ *Arbeit*, p. 456 ff.

This feeling may help us to explain Weber's interest in the changes of Russian rural structure before and after the collapse of Czarism, which is regarded as his latest rural sociological interest.

IV. *The rural structure of Russia* had always attracted Max Weber's attention. Even more than that, he had always been affected by the collectivity feeling of the Russian peasant, by the Greek-Orthodox Saint and the passive sufferer in the fictions of Dostoevski, and by Tolstoi's attempt to teach and to live a life conforming to the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. Weber did not believe in the possibility of regulating state and politics according to those principles. On the contrary, he had emphasized more than anyone else the essentially tragic role of the politician because the latter was responsible for the future of his group or country. Thus, he could not act exclusively according to his own individual ethical conscience without taking the future into consideration; rather he had to act in regard to his responsibility and take upon himself the burden of becoming, ethically speaking, guilty and, religiously speaking, a sinner. Max Weber had been deeply touched by the problem and by Tolstoi's attempt to solve it in a way, different from his own. He had even planned to go beyond the occasional remarks and to write a book on this Russian disciple of the Sermon on the Mount.²⁰ Under such circumstances,

one can hardly wonder that Russian rural life meant so much to him, not only after the great changes occurring during World War I, but even before. He had always been interested in and familiar with the history of agriculture and rural life. With this background he investigated Russian rural social structure in its uniqueness comparing it with that of other countries. His description may be summarized as follows:²⁰ The landed nobility was always dominant in the local government of the rural provincial districts and yet this same nobility did not have any organization of its own to protect itself from the Czarist government and to ameliorate its economic conditions. When the economic situation was insufficient to permit the members of an increasing family to make an adequate living they were, more than in other countries, compelled to cultivate connections and in that way obtain high positions in army and administration. They, therefore, became dependent upon the Czar and carried on only in the role of a court nobility. Much more than with this nobility, Weber was concerned with the lower-classes and with the rural collectivity, characterizing not exclusively the Russian but also the other Slavic language speaking peoples. Thus, the Serbian Zadruga was also of importance to him.²¹ This south slavic form of rural collectivity had for a long time attracted the attention of historians of agri-

²⁰ Gesetz, p. 62 f., Politik, p. 441 f., Wertfreiheit, pp. 467, 469, 479.

²⁰ Wirtschaft, p. 720.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 398 f.

culture as well as that of politicians.³² Even romantically minded anarchists had used it as an example to prove the truth of their own theory. Their arguments had been, that the Zadruga is a form of life, without any legal compulsion and that, if such a kind of existence were possible in Serbia it could also become a possibility elsewhere. Thus, for these Romanicists it would be a proof that any kind of legal compulsion is superfluous. Max Weber opposed such use of the existence of the Zadruga to justify anarchistic claims. He showed that where the Zadruga exists there also exists legal compulsion, even if not administered by the state, nevertheless carried out by a village community. On the other hand the fact that the Zadruga exists is for him important because it gives him an opportunity to demonstrate, in opposition to the state-idolaters, the possibility of a stateless legal coercion.

More than by the Zadruga, Weber felt himself attracted by an interest in the Russian Mir. The age of the Mir is controversial,³³ and he did not feel himself qualified to ascertain its exact age.³⁴ The Mir centers around

a village with houses built along a single street; the fields are divided into big areas and these are subdivided into long strips. The latter are allotted to the families, which are members of the Mir, according to the number of working members in every family. Periodically repartition takes place and there exists the right to reparticipation in such a new partition for former members who having left the community had returned again.³⁵ The Czaristic minister, Stalypin, at the beginning of the 19th Century had instituted rural reform laws in opposition to these traditional mores. These laws made secession from such collectivity possible. Stalypin considered his measures liberal and favoring the independence of the peasants.³⁶

Max Weber, studying, describing, and opposing this measure evaluated it in the following way:³⁷ The measure splits the peasants into two antagonistic groups with private owners seceding from the community and the others still remaining members of it. The tendency was for the peasants, like the veterinarians and other rural intellectuals increasingly to become adherents of the Social-Revolutionaries. These were the successors of the former Narodniki and like these a revolutionary party with less industrial and more rural inclinations, less internationally and more Russian-minded than the two Marxian groups, the Bolsheviki and the Mensheviki.

³² For example, F. Engels, the socialistic collaborator of Karl Marx, in his book *Der Ursprung der Familie*, Stuttgart, Dietz, 11th edition, No. 11, pp. 48 f. and A. Meitzen, Max Weber's teacher in history of agriculture and in statistics, in his book *Siedelungen und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Roemer, Finnen und Slaven*, Berlin 1896, Vol. 1. No. VIII, *passim*.

³³ See the history of the theories concerning its age in A. Dopsch, *Wirtschaftliche und Soziale Grundlagen der Europaischen Kulturentwicklung*, Vol. 1, Wien, Seidel, pp. 40-44.

³⁴ *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, p. 34.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 32 f., *Wirtschaft*, p. 608.

³⁶ *Russland*, pp. 107 f.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

The Heidelbergian sociologist had the opportunity to know intimately many Social-Revolutionaries who studied in his university and he considered their movement, socio-psychologically speaking, similar to a religious one. He admired these idealists, who were willing and ready, to make the greatest sacrifice for their convictions.³⁸ When Stalypin attempted to split the peasants by these measures, there appeared at the same time an attempt to split the adherents of the dangerous Social-Revolutionaries. It was especially for this reason that Weber opposed very passionately the reforms of Stalypin.³⁹ Nevertheless, the attempt made by the latter was successful although only to some extent, since the Social-Revolutionaries remained one of the most important revolutionary parties, especially immediately after the abdication of the Czar. Their more moderate right wing became, in coalition with the right winged Marxians, the Mensheviki, for a short period the rulers of Russia who had as their immediate problem peace with Germany or continuation of the war.

Since the beginning of World War I, the Heidelbergian sociologist, because of convictions which he continued to hold, had advocated peace without any annexations.⁴⁰ However, he doubted that the government led by Kerenski who was the leader of the right winged Social-Revolutionaries, would be willing and able to

carry this out, especially because of the new rural problems in Russia. Weber considered⁴¹ the Russian peasants of that period to be almost exclusively interested in the expropriation of the property of the rural proprietor of non-peasant origin. He reasoned as follows: They desire to leave the army, return home and enjoy peace; this is also the desire of the Social-Revolutionaries, who are dependent upon these peasants. But all groups, interested in individual rural property, are interested for the same reason in hindering the return of the revolutionary-minded peasants. To keep the peasants from returning, these groups must prefer war to peace, because the latter would bring the peasants back. Within these anti-peasant and anti-social-revolutionary groups there are (in addition to the independent peasants already mentioned, who left the Mir following Stalypin's reform) numerous "bourgeois," who invested money in rural property for its comparatively high degree of security. Included also in these groups are the bankers, and last but not least, similar groups outside of Russia upon whom the Kerenski government is dependent for financial support. It is for this reason that the right winged Social-Revolutionaries, even though they desire peace are not able to promote it. They also are handicapped because of lack of support by the urban workers.⁴²

The old pre-revolutionary antagonism between the Marxians of both

³⁸ *Wirtschaft*, pp. 295 f., 751. *Russland*, p. 117.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

⁴⁰ *Weltmaechte*, p. 76 f.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 116 f.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

nuances—Bolsheviki and Mensheviki—and the Social-Revolutionaries of both kinds—right and left winged—reappear. Even Plechanov, the old theoretician of the Mensheviki asserts that cheap bread is the first requisite and considers the peasant's claims as romantic and reactionary. The peasants, adherents of the Kerenski government, also do not agree with one another. As an illustration,⁴³ within one smaller political unit the partition of land may give to every peasant only six hectares while in the neighboring one, fifteen hectares. In such cases the peasants living within the first one of these two units will insist on equal partitions of the land and, of course, want to base the division on the larger political unit, thus forcing those who hoped for fifteen hectares to get less. The peasants on the other hand who live within the second area, where the fifteen hectare unit is hoped for, will insist on the monopolistic attribution of the good land of their own district only to themselves, excluding from the partition all land outside their own small unit and all the other peasants living together in the larger political unit. Finally,⁴⁴ the Kerenski government is still dependent on the Duma, i.e., the elected parliament still in existence. In the latter one there is a strong majority favoring the maintenance of the specific Russian supremacy over the many non-Russian rural minorities, such as Ukrainians, Latvians, Estonians, etc. This results

in another antagonism within the already weak government led by the social-revolutionary Kerenski.

Max Weber's prophecy that this government would not be inclined to make peace with Germany was true.⁴⁵ However, the later events have disproved his prophecy that the Bolshevistic regime would not exist long.⁴⁶ To be sure, after it had been established, both—the Sovietists as well as Weber—had to face the problem of the rural collectively, the Artel, as it now was called, and its transferability to other parts of Europe. Our sociologist under consideration had always been free from any prejudice for or against private agricultural property or collectively owned land.⁴⁷ He considered the Artel adequate for a population like the Russian, which had always lived in an agrarian communism. The Western European peasant on the contrary sets his heart on hereditary property, fears the socialistic workers, even prefers, when he feels himself endangered by the latter, to cooperate with the noble landlord. Therefore the probability of an imitation of the Russian pattern in Western Europe, is, according to Weber, not likely.⁴⁸

This judgment is actually the last one within Max Weber's rural sociologico-political activity. The man, who, although ill and handicapped, nevertheless felt himself religiously and ethically bound to participate in public affairs has been hindered from

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁴⁵ Innere, p. 324.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 323.

⁴⁷ Russland, p. 123.

⁴⁸ Sozialismus, p. 516.

accomplishing his scientific as well as his political work by an untimely death. This work began with investigations in the field of the history of agriculture and rural life and embraced many fields, as indicated in the beginning of this paper. It was motivated by two viewpoints: (1) objectivity within the scientific field and (2) feeling of equity, justice, and re-

ligiously-founded brotherly love for the lowly, guiding his participation in the fields of politics and practical activity.

Both viewpoints—objectivity and brotherly love—were also Max Weber's guiding stars in that part of his activities, which was the least known in the United States, i.e., his activity in the field of Rural Sociology.

Educational Selectivity of Rural-Urban Migration and Its Bearing on Wage and Occupational Adjustments*

By Paul H. Landis†

ABSTRACT

It is shown that rural youth migrating to urban areas are better educated than rural youth who remained behind but less well educated than urban youth with whom they take up residence; that urban youth moving to rural areas are less well educated than urban youth who remain in cities but are better educated than the rural youth with whom they compete occupationally in rural areas. In spite of initial educational disadvantages, rural youth migrating to cities excel urban youth with whom they compete in income. Urban youth, on the other hand, who move to rural areas, excel resident rural youth in income. Urban girls moving to rural areas are especially successful as measured by economic criteria. From the standpoint of status giving occupations rural youth moving to cities seem to be at a disadvantage, especially rural girls. They do however, achieve superior occupational and economic status to rural people remaining behind. Urban youth migrating to rural areas rate high in both financial and occupational success.

RESUMEN

Ha sido demostrado que la juventud rural que emigra a las zonas urbanas está mejor educada que la juventud rural que se queda en el campo, pero menos educada que la juventud urbana con quien viven; que la juventud urbana que se cambia a la zona rural es menos educada que la juventud urbana que se queda en la ciudad, pero mejor educada que la juventud rural con la cual compiten profesionalmente en zonas rurales. A pesar de las desventajas iniciales, la juventud urbana que emigra a las ciudades sobrepasa a la juventud urbana con quien compiten en renta. La juventud urbana, por otro lado, que se cambia a las zonas rurales, sobrepasa en renta a la juventud rural residente. Muchachas urbanas que se cambian a zonas rurales tienen un éxito económico sobresaliente. Desde el punto de vista de encontrar ocupaciones, la juventud rural que se cambia a las ciudades está en una situación desventajosa,

especialmente las muchachas rurales. Ellas logran, a pesar de todo, conseguir un estado profesional y económico superior al de la juventud que se queda en el campo. La juventud urbana que emigra a las zonas rurales tiene un considerable éxito financiero y profesional.

The qualitative selection of migrants between rural and urban areas is an old problem for the sociologists, yet one on many phases of which surprisingly little is known. This paper does not purport to answer any substantial number of the unanswered queries, but does attempt to follow certain inquiries a step further than has usually been done. (1) It presents evidence on the selectivity, not only of migrants going to the city, but of those leaving the city for rural areas. The measure employed is the amount of education of migrants. While this may not be the best index of qualitative selection that might be employed, it is the one available for the group under observation.¹ (2) It makes an estimate of the economic success of the migrant between rural and urban territory with the stable urban and rural residents as a control group. (3) It compares the migrant with the non-migrant in terms of success in entering the more favored occupations.

For purposes of the analysis, four residence-mobility groups were considered: (1) rural youth who had grown up in and remained in rural

areas, (2) rural youth who had migrated to urban areas, (3) urban youth who had grown up in and remained in urban areas, (4) urban-reared youth who had migrated to rural areas. This four-fold classification is made for each sex separately.

Data on territorial and occupational mobility were collected in the year 1942 by asking high school social science pupils and eighth grade pupils in the state of Washington to answer certain queries regarding their older brothers and sisters who had already left school. Migration was measured by difference between parental address in which the child answering the question still lived, and present address of the older brothers and sisters.²

Schools throughout the state in communities of every size from open country to metropolises cooperated in the study. In all, usable schedules were received for 16,732 youth.

School Graduates in War and Depression Years, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 463, May, 1945.

² Clearly this is not always an accurate index of the older youth's mobility. In some cases it may reflect rather the mobility of the parent. Since, however, the measure of mobility for purposes of this study is the shift between rural and urban territory, it is likely that in the preponderant number of cases it does actually reflect the migration of youth who have left home. For a full statement of method and a more general analysis of many phases of territorial and occupational mobility see: Paul H. Landis, *The Territorial and Occupational Mobility of Washington Youth*, Bulletin No. 449, Youth Series No. 3, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington, July, 1944.

* Scientific Paper No. 673, College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Stations, State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

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¹ Data compiled for this analysis were collected for a study aimed at the broader phases of territorial and occupational mobility rather than the specific problem outlined herein.

Educational Selectivity

In the state of Washington, approximately 90 per cent of young people enter high school and approximately 70 per cent graduate. Yet studies of the education of youth beyond high school age in Washington indicated a marked difference between urban and rural youth in total amount of education acquired. Studies³ of the seven pre-war classes, those graduating during the years 1934-1941 inclusive, show that only 25.6 per cent of young men in communities of under 250 people continued their education beyond high school as compared to 48.4 per cent in cities of 100,000 or over. Of young women graduating in places of under 250 people, 35.9 per cent continued their schooling, while in metropolitan areas 45.9 per cent continued beyond high school. In the case of both young men and young women, the larger the town the greater the proportion who continued their schooling beyond high school.

In spite of this initial differential education of rural and urban youth, selective migration operates on the basis of education both in the movement of rural youth to urban areas and in the migration of urban youth to rural areas.

Three indices of selection on the

basis of education are employed: (1) age at leaving school, (2) years of schooling, and (3) type of schooling. The dividing line between rural and urban areas used was the standard census classification, 2,500 people.

Selective Migration in Terms of Age at Leaving School

Rural young men were less well educated than urban young men as measured by age at leaving school. The rural group moving to urban areas was also a selective group, having remained in school longer than the stable group (Table I). Of the young men who moved to cities, 55.7 per cent remained in school to 18 years or beyond, whereas only 47.1 per cent who remained in rural areas did so. In spite of this selectivity, the migrating group was less well educated as measured by years of leaving school than the urban group with whom they had to compete on arrival in the city. Of urban young men, 58.2 per cent continued in school to 18 years of age or beyond.

Urban young men moving to rural areas were only slightly superior in their education, as measured by age at leaving school, to the rural group moving to cities. This group was, however, much better educated than the rural group with which it had to compete in the country. The group migrating from urban to rural areas was, however, very small. This group was inferior to the urban-reared group remaining in cities.

The situation for young women was similar to that for young men in

³ *Six Months After Commencement, An Analysis of the Occupational Roles of 133-651 Graduates of Washington High Schools, Classes 1934 through 1941*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 420, September, 1942; *Washington High School Graduates in War and Depression Years*, Washington Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin No. 463, May, 1945.

all the classifications, except that the young women moving from towns and cities to the country were less selective than young men moving to the rural areas. They, in fact, had far less education than the stable urban group and somewhat less education than rural girls who moved to cities. They were, however, better educated in terms of years in school than the stable rural group with which they had to compete.

Selective Migration in Terms of Total Grades of Schooling

Grades of schooling completed is a better measure of education than age at leaving school since age at leaving school may be affected by retardation. Comparisons on this basis are made in Table II.

By this measure, the results even more clearly demonstrate selective migration from rural to urban areas. Rural young men remaining in the country were far less well educated than rural young men who moved to urban areas. At the two extremes these differences show up most. Of those moving to the cities, less than half as many had only an eighth grade education, and almost twice as many had 13 years or more education. Even at that, the rural group arriving in urban areas had less education than the urban young men with whom they had to compete.

Urban young men moving to rural areas were inferior in educational achievement to the urban group remaining in cities. In spite of this selectivity, the average education of

this group was about the same as that of the rural group which went to cities and far above that of the stable rural group with which they had to compete. It is significant, however, that more than three times as many young men migrate from rural areas to urban areas as from urban areas to rural areas.

Similar selectivity was indicated for young women migrating to cities as for young men. The group leaving the rural communities was better educated than the group remaining, although not as well educated as the urban group with which they had to compete on arrival in urban areas. Young women moving from urban areas to rural areas were not as well educated as young women remaining in cities, but were somewhat better educated than young women moving from the country to towns and cities and much better educated than the rural group with which they had to compete. In this exchange, the urban areas received more than four times as many young women as it returned to rural areas.

Selective Migration by Type of Schooling

A third measure of educational selectivity in rural-urban migration is that which is based on the type of school last attended. Presumably, the kind of school last attended is an index of the kind and quality of education, and also to some extent of vocational interest. A comparison of the various residence-mobility groups by sex is shown in Table III.

The first comparison deals with young men. It will be seen that twice as many of those who remained in the country as of those who moved to towns and cities had only an eighth grade education. A slightly larger per cent of those going into towns and cities had a high school education. Almost twice as many had attended college or normal school, and approximately twice as many had attended some other kind of special school such as a business or vocational school.

Even with this high degree of selectivity of rural young men moving to urban areas, their educational preparation was, for the most part, inferior to that of urban young men with whom they had to compete in urban areas. Although a slightly higher proportion of urban youth remaining in urban areas had only an eighth grade education, more than twice as many of them had the advantage of college or normal school.

Urban young men moving to rural areas were an inferior group compared to the urban group which they left. They were also slightly inferior to the group which left rural areas for cities, although superior in educational qualifications to the rural group with which they had to compete.

Assuming that the group leaving the rural area and that coming into the area were approximately equal in educational qualifications, the rural community still lost by the exchange since well over three times as many young men moved urbanward as moved ruralward.

The situation for young women was not quite so striking, although the migration was still highly selective. One of the unique characteristics of selectivity of rural girls was that almost twice as many of those leaving rural areas as of those who remained had training in special skills. Presumably, many of these young women obtained their training in special schools such as beauty, business or vocational schools after migrating.

Rural young women moving to towns and cities had inferior educational preparation in college and normal schools as compared with urban young women with whom they had to compete, but a slightly higher proportion had training in special skills.

The educational preparation of urban young women moving to rural areas was considerably superior to that of rural young women moving to towns and cities if one bases the comparison on college and normal school training. In fact, by this measure the urban group moving to the country was also superior to the stable urban group. This group is small and is influenced by the migration of urban young women to rural areas to accept their first jobs in teaching. (This view is substantiated by data presented later in Table VII.)

An extremely low proportion of young women moving from urban areas to rural areas had training in special skills that pointed directly to a vocation. This is as would be expected because of the lack of opportunity for those with business training, nurses training, beauty school employees, etc. in rural areas.

In summary, each of the three educational measures employed indicates the rural to urban migration is selective. The better trained young men or women from rural areas leave for urban areas in much larger proportions than do the poorly trained. Their training is approximately equal to that of the group migrating from the city to the country, but the exchange is a net loss to rural communities since more than three times as many young men and more than four times as many young women move urbanward as move ruralward.

Data on which analysis is based do not permit an answer to the question of whether these migrating rural young people get their superior education before or after migrating to cities. Presumably many finish their education in cities and fail to return to rural areas. The fact remains that the rural area loses its most educated sons and daughters in the process.

Promptness in Obtaining a Job in Relation to Migration

Presumably, educational preparation and migration affect occupational experience and income level. Data of this study permit comparison of the four residence-migration groups under consideration with regard to time elapsing between the completion of their schooling and obtaining their first job, rate of pay on the first job, and pay received on the 1942 job (the job held at the time of study in the Spring of 1942).

Comparison of young men and young women of the four residence-

migration groups by the length of time elapsing between leaving school and first job is made in Table IV. It will readily be seen that the lag between the time of completing school and of obtaining a job for most rural young men who remain in rural areas was very short. Approximately 69 per cent of the sample obtained their first job within a month. The lag for none of the four classifications was particularly great.

Young women experienced a greater time lag in obtaining their first job than did young men, but again there were no marked differences in the groups compared. The urban group moving to rural areas seem to have achieved earlier occupational placement than average; however, the group was relatively small.

Income in Relation to Migration

Occupational success is measured to quite an extent by income, particularly because income is one of the best indices of level of living which is in turn directly related to social status. In Table V a comparison of the four residence-mobility groups is made of the average income on their first job and on the 1942 job. The average person in the group had been out of school five years; the majority fell in the range from ten years to one year out of school.

It will be seen that rural young men moving to urban areas made an immediate income gain and also progressed to a higher salary with experience than did the group remaining in rural areas. It is also a striking

fact that the rural group moving to cities excelled the average income group of young men in cities, both on the first and on the 1942 job. When one considers that the rural group moving to cities was at a disadvantage educationally, this seems especially significant. Apparently the group has other qualities which more than compensate for the lack of educational advantage. Perhaps it is that rural youth from childhood up are in contact with the work world of adults and acquire a philosophy which makes for successful work experience. City children have few chores and little contact with adults in their work life.

Young women who moved from rural areas to urban areas also excelled their stable country sisters in their first wage and in progress to a better than average wage. Rural young women in urban areas also excelled the urban girls who remained in cities in their first wage but not in their advancement to a better wage. Urban young women moving to rural areas excelled their stable urban sisters and the rural young women with whom they competed on initial wage and in advancement to a better wage. They did not equal the wages of rural girls in urban areas.

The comparison above, in terms of the average, may not be as signifi-

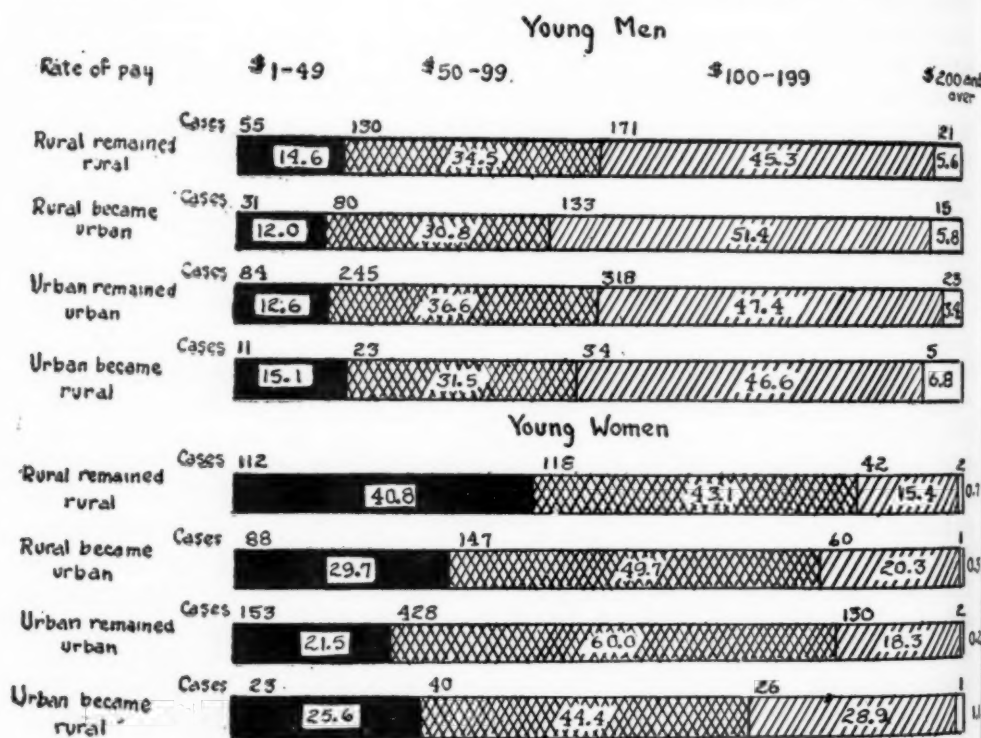


Figure 1.

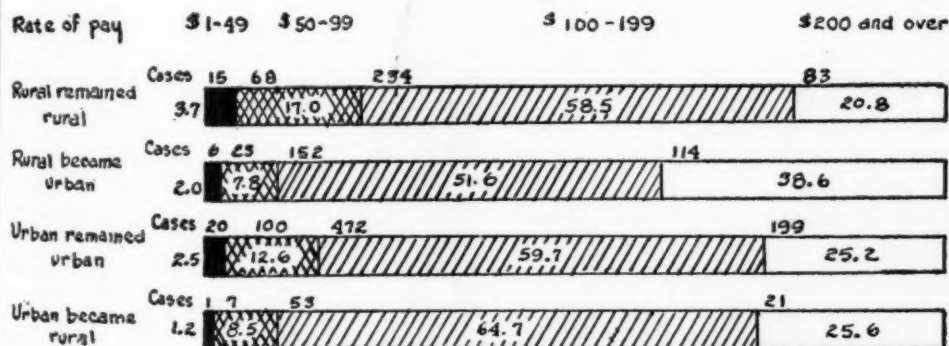
cant as comparisons in terms of broad income groups. Comparisons are, therefore, made in figures 1 and 2 by broad income classification. Figure 1 deals with wage classifications on the first job. Fewer of the migrating rural than of the stable rural group were in the lower income brackets and more were in the higher income brackets. Rural young men moving into cities exceeded their urban competitors in income. A smaller proportion of them fell in the lower income ranges and a higher proportion in the higher income ranges.

Of urban young men moving ruralward, an undue proportion fell in both extremes as compared to the

stable urban group. As compared to the stable rural group more were in the lowest income class, but more also were in the two upper income levels.

A far higher proportion of girls moving from rural to urban areas fell in the higher income brackets on their first job than of those remaining in rural areas. A higher proportion of them also fell in the upper income brackets than of the urban group with which they competed. Urban girls moving to rural areas excelled all other residence-migration groups in proportion who received the highest incomes. Of the stable rural group, over 40 per cent began work at a wage of less than \$50 per month.

Young Men



Young Women

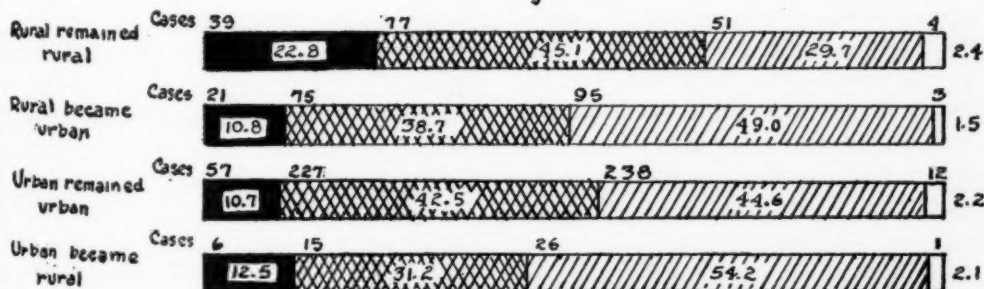


Figure 2.

The situation after work experience is shown in Figure 2 which presents data on wages received on the 1942 job. In comparing young men on this basis, it will be seen that the rural group which moved to urban areas far surpassed in income young men who remained in rural areas. It will also be seen that urban young men who moved to rural areas gained some advantages over young men who remained in cities.

It is a striking fact that rural young men after experience on the job far excelled their urban-born and -reared competitors in earnings. A much higher proportion achieved the higher income levels, and a much lower proportion remained in the lower income levels. This is made more significant by the lack of schooling advantage of the rural group.

The situation for young women is shown in the lower part of the chart. It will be seen that young women moving to towns and cities far surpassed in income their rural sisters who stayed in the country, even though a slightly higher proportion of those who remained in the country attained the top income level. Approximately 68 per cent of those who stayed in rural areas remained under the \$100 income level, whereas of the group moving to cities half reached the \$100 per month income level.

Rural young women in cities excelled their urban competitors in the proportion attaining more than \$100 incomes. Young women who moved from urban to rural areas achieved a higher income level after experience

on the job than any other residence-mobility group. However, the number of cases involved (48 cases) in this instance is too small to be conclusive.

In conclusion, it seems evident that rural youth migrating to cities, in spite of inferior school preparation, have other qualities which help them achieve an income level superior to that of urban youth with whom they compete on arriving in the city. Rural young people who migrate also far excel in income the country-reared who remain in the country. The income motive for urbanward migration of rural youth is clearly not an illusion. While one cannot conclude from these data that young people who migrate from rural to urban areas make more than they would had they remained in the country, it seems likely that they do. Being a more able group, as measured by education, than those remaining in rural areas, they might have made more money there than those who remained in rural areas, but it is likely that the transfer to urban areas opened opportunities for their more lucrative employment.

Migration and Occupational Adjustment

The occupational level of youth indicates to some extent their success in occupational adjustment and is also a reflection of their social status. In Table V, young men and young women in the four residence-mobility classifications are compared as to their initial jobs. It will be seen that rural young men moving to urban

areas have a decided advantage over those remaining in rural areas as far as entering the professions, becoming proprietors, clerical workers, craftsmen, and domestic service workers is concerned. More of those remaining in the country begin as farmers or farm workers and as laborers.

If one thinks of domestic and service occupations and common labor as being at the low end of the socioeconomic scale, those moving to the city are better off as a group than those remaining in the country in that a smaller proportion begin their occupational life as common laborers or service workers than do those remaining in the country.

Of young women who move from rural areas to cities, a considerably higher per cent enter the professions than of city-reared young women who remain in cities. By far the highest per cent of those entering the professions, however, are urban young women who move to rural areas. Of rural young women moving to cities 44.6 per cent enter the clerical field; 38.7 per cent enter domestic and service occupations. This is a much higher ratio than of urban girls in the domestic and service field. A still higher per cent of young women who remain in rural areas begin their work life in the domestic or service field. Considerably fewer of those who remain in rural areas take their first job in the clerical field than of those who go to urban areas. Urban young women who remain in urban areas far excelled all other groups in the proportion entering clerical occupa-

tions, over half of them taking their first job in this field. More of them also begin their work life as laborers in urban industries than of any other group.

The initial job may not be an adequate index of occupational adjustment since the first job may be a stepping stone to a more satisfactory occupation. In Table VI a comparison similar to that for the first job is made for the job held at the time of the study in the spring of 1942. This was after an average of five years out of school. On the basis of this comparison, young men who had gone to cities were still holding professional positions in a much higher percentage of cases than young men who remained in rural areas. They, however, fell considerably below urban young men who had remained in cities and far below young men moving from urban areas to rural areas in the proportion engaged in the professions.

Rural young men going to cities, in a far higher proportion of cases, remained in domestic and service positions than was the case of urban young men.

The comparison for young women in the various residential classifications shows that rural young women who moved to urban areas held professional positions in a higher proportion of cases than either the stable urban or stable rural group, but in a much lower proportion of cases than of urban young women who moved to the country.

Domestic and service occupations occupied more than three-fourths of rural young women who remained in rural areas and almost as many of those who moved to urban areas. Rural young women found themselves in these occupations more often than either of the urban residence-mobility groups. This suggests that rural young women are probably at some disadvantage in competing successfully for the better positions with better trained urban young women.

In summary, from the standpoint of income both on the first job and after work experience, the rural group has a decided advantage over the group remaining in the country and even excels in earnings the better schooled competing urban group

with which they take up their residence. From the standpoint of attaining jobs or positions that represent prestige and social status they excel the stable rural group, but do not equal the stable urban group with which they compete. The girls migrating from rural areas to cities are especially disadvantaged from this standpoint.

Urban youth migrating to rural areas are a select occupational-income group. Although a less able group than that which they leave, they do better financially and occupationally. They compete in rural areas against a group with much less training and therefore easily excel them in obtaining positions of better status and income.

TABLE I. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND BY AGE AT LEAVING SCHOOL.

Residence— Mobility class	Young Men					
	9-17 years		18 years and over		Total	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Rural remained rural	1143	52.9	1020	47.1	2163	100.0
Rural became urban	666	44.3	837	55.7	1503	100.0
Urban remained urban	1048	41.8	1461	58.2	2509	100.0
Urban became rural	131	42.9	174	57.1	305	100.0

Young Women						
Rural remained rural	1033	51.2	985	48.8	2018	100.0
Rural became urban	817	44.2	1032	55.8	1849	100.0
Urban remained urban	739	31.7	1597	68.3	2336	100.0
Urban became rural	187	46.1	219	53.9	406	100.0

TABLE II. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND GRADES OF SCHOOLING COMPLETED.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	1-8 grades		9-11 grades		12 grades		13 grades and over		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Rural remained rural	515	22.5	523	22.8	1086	47.5	164	7.2	2288	100.0
Rural became urban	177	11.1	387	24.3	839	52.6	191	12.0	1594	100.0
Urban remained urban	240	9.0	681	25.4	1357	50.7	398	14.9	2676	100.0
Urban became rural	50	15.3	82	25.2	151	46.3	43	13.2	326	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	272	12.9	464	22.0	1181	55.9	196	9.2	2113	100.0
Rural became urban	143	7.4	331	17.3	1147	59.9	295	15.4	1916	100.0
Urban remained urban	145	5.2	515	18.5	1618	58.0	509	18.3	2787	100.0
Urban became rural	33	7.7	84	19.6	242	56.6	69	16.1	428	100.0

TABLE III. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND TYPE OF SCHOOL LAST ATTENDED.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	Grade		High School		College and Normal School		Others*		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Rural remained rural	503	21.6	1632	69.9	149	6.4	48	3.1	2332	100.0
Rural became urban	175	10.9	1194	74.0	179	11.1	64	4.0	1612	100.0
Urban remained urban	238	14.1	1017	60.1	383	22.6	53	3.2	1691	100.0
Urban became rural	47	14.4	231	70.6	41	12.5	8	2.5	327	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	264	12.4	1605	75.3	144	6.8	118	5.5	2131	100.0
Rural became urban	143	7.4	1412	73.4	164	8.5	206	10.7	1925	100.0
Urban remained urban	140	5.0	2053	73.0	340	12.1	277	9.9	2812	100.0
Urban became rural	34	7.9	316	73.9	59	13.8	19	4.4	428	100.0

* Nurses training, business, beauty, vocational, parochial, etc.

TABLE IV. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND LENGTH OF TIME BETWEEN LEAVING SCHOOL AND FIRST JOB.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	Under 1 month		1 to 6 months		7 to 12 months		13 months or more		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
Rural remain rural	341	68.7	59	11.9	50	10.1	46	9.3	496	100.0
Rural became urban	216	64.1	52	15.4	37	11.0	32	9.5	337	100.0
Urban remained urban	588	67.8	131	15.1	91	10.5	57	6.6	867	100.0
Urban became rural	86	78.2	8	7.3	4	3.6	12	10.9	110	100.0

Young Women

Rural remained rural	250	62.3	67	16.7	42	10.5	42	10.5	401	100.0
Rural became urban	267	63.0	70	16.5	44	10.4	43	10.1	424	100.0
Urban remained urban	569	59.2	176	18.3	125	13.0	91	9.5	961	100.0
Urban became rural	88	71.0	19	15.3	10	8.1	7	5.6	124	100.0

TABLE V. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE-MOBILITY GROUPS AND THE AVERAGE MONTHLY SALARIES RECEIVED ON THEIR FIRST JOB AND THEIR 1942 JOB.

Residence— Mobility group	First Job		1942 Job	
	Young Men	Young Women	Young Men	Young Women
Rural remained rural	\$103.45	66.74	\$144.60	\$ 82.47
Rural became urban	111.24	94.79	174.60	96.16
Urban remained urban	102.14	72.66	144.35	97.84
Urban became rural	108.42	74.36	162.51	101.06

TABLE VI. WASHINGTON YOUTH CLASSIFICATION BY RESIDENCE GROUPS AND THEIR FIRST OCCUPATIONS.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	Number	Per cent	Profes- sional	Farmers and Farm Workers	Proprietor	Clerical	Craftsman	Operative	Domestic and Service	Laborers	Total
Rural remained rural	11	2.2	11	160	3	41	53	96	13	128	505
				31.7	0.6	8.1	10.5	19.0	2.6	25.3	100
Rural became urban	18	5.3	18	32	4	56	64	62	32	70	338
				9.5	1.2	16.6	18.9	18.3	9.5	20.7	100
Urban remained urban	41	4.7	41	91	17	190	146	163	67	164	879
				10.4	1.9	21.6	16.6	18.5	7.6	18.7	100
Urban became rural	8	6.8	8	30	0	22	20	17	5	16	118
				25.4	0.0	18.6	17.0	14.4	4.2	13.6	100

Young Women

Rural remained rural	45	9.4	45	16	2	144	2	6	246	18	479
				3.3	0.4	30.1	0.4	1.2	51.4	3.8	100
Rural became urban	52	11.4	52	0	3	204	2	5	177	14	457
				0.0	0.7	44.6	0.4	1.1	38.7	3.1	100
Urban remained urban	88	8.1	88	6	5	566	11	16	314	75	1081
				0.6	0.5	52.4	1.0	1.5	29.0	6.9	100
Urban became rural	33	22.4	33	2	0	46	0	0	55	11	147
				1.4	0.0	31.3	0.0	0.0	37.4	7.5	100

TABLE VII. WASHINGTON YOUNG MEN AND YOUNG WOMEN CLASSIFIED BY RESIDENCE GROUPS AND BY THEIR 1942 OCCUPATION.

Young Men

Residence— Mobility class	Number	Per cent	Profes- sional	Farmers and Farm Workers	Proprietor	Clerical	Craftsman	Operative	Domestic and Service	Laborers	Total
Rural remained rural	36	1.9	36	595	39	106	182	249	189	521	1917
			1.9	31.0	2.0	5.5	9.5	13.0	9.9	27.2	100
Rural became urban	45	3.2	45	69	44	133	306	150	360	290	1397
			3.2	4.9	3.2	9.5	21.9	10.7	25.8	20.8	100
Urban remained urban	87	4.4	87	134	82	257	358	222	371	477	1988
			4.4	6.7	4.1	12.9	18.0	11.2	18.7	24.0	100
Urban became rural	29	1.5	29	77	10	17	40	41	21	65	300
			9.7	25.6	3.3	5.7	13.3	13.7	7.0	21.7	100

Young Women

Rural remained rural	70	3.7	70	42	8	243	2	5	1452	60	1882
			3.7	2.2	0.4	12.9	0.1	0.3	77.2	3.2	100
Rural became urban	88	4.8	88	9	9	356	6	12	1317	36	1833
			4.8	0.5	0.5	19.4	0.3	0.7	71.8	2.0	100
Urban remained urban	107	5.2	107	10	14	748	12	14	1589	80	2574
			4.2	0.4	0.5	29.1	0.5	0.5	61.7	3.1	100
Urban became rural	27	1.3	27	10	4	14	13	18	162	5	253
			10.7	4.0	1.6	5.5	5.1	7.1	64.0	2.0	100

The Composition of the Population of Oklahoma Villages*

By John C. Belcher†

ABSTRACT

The racial, age, and sex composition of the inhabitants of the 445 incorporated centers in Oklahoma having populations of less than 2,500 is analyzed for the purpose of obtaining a better conception of these little studied demographic characteristics of villagers. From this analysis the following findings are reached:

1. Racially the village population is more homogeneous than any of the other residential groups being composed overwhelmingly of native whites.
2. There is a distinct increase in the proportion of Negroes among villagers as the size of the village increases.
3. The most striking feature of the age composition is the high proportion of old people, especially of elderly women.
4. As villages decrease in size, the proportion of aged persons increases markedly.
5. Villages are predominantly the home of females.
6. There seem to be no fundamental differences between the sex structure of the village and that of the urban population.

RESUMEN

Se analiza la composición racial, de edades, y de sexo de los habitantes de 445 centros incorporados en Oklahoma que tienen una población de menos de 2,500 para obtener un concepto mejor de los rasgos demográficos característicos de estos aldeanos tan poco estudiados. De este análisis se deduce lo siguiente:

1. Racialmente la población aldeana es más homogénea que la de ningún otro grupo residencial compuesta en su inmensa mayoría de naturales blancos.
2. Hay un aumento evidente en la proporción de negros entre los aldeanos según aumenta el tamaño de la aldea.
3. El aspecto sobresaliente de la composición de edades es la gran proporción de gente vieja, especialmente mujeres.
4. La proporción de los viejos aumenta marcadamente según las aldeas disminuyen en tamaño.
5. Las aldeas son predominantemente el domicilio de las mujeres.
6. No parece haber ninguna diferencia fundamental entre la estructura de sexos de la aldea y la de la población urbana.

A large portion of the inhabitants of the United States live in small population centers. More than seven per cent dwell in the incorporated aggregates having less than 2,500 population. Countless others live in unincorporated villages. Practically nothing of a demographic nature, how-

ever, is known about this important segment of the population of the nation which resides in villages.¹

In the past it has been almost impossible to make large scale statistical studies of the composition of the population of villages because of the

* This paper is based on a thesis written at Louisiana State University under the direction of T. Lynn Smith.

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¹ In this study a village is considered to be any population center with a population of less than 2,500. This study, however, deals only with the population of the incorporated villages.

difficulty in securing data. Now the 1930 and 1940 Censuses of the United States provide valuable data for each village in the nation having a population between 1,000 and 2,500. For Oklahoma it is possible also to obtain similar data for all incorporated centers having less than 1,000 inhabitants. The census gives information on age, sex, and race for the population of each minor civil division in the United States. In most states villages are parts of more extensive civil divisions. In Oklahoma, on the other hand, each incorporated center is a distinct minor civil division; thus, census data are available for the populations of incorporated villages of all sizes,² whereas data can be obtained only for the incorporated villages having more than 1,000 inhabitants in most states.

This is a study of the composition of the population of the 445 incorporated centers in Oklahoma having less than 2,500 inhabitants. Because of the limitations of the census data, the only characteristics of these villagers which will be discussed are: (1) race, (2) age, and (3) sex.

Racial Composition: Very little has been written about the racial composition of the inhabitants of America's villages; yet, in American life racial differences have been, and continue to be, very important. Cultural features such as religion, education, and language are closely linked with race.

²In addition to Oklahoma, Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin treat the smaller incorporated villages as separate civil divisions. Therefore, census data for small villages are available for these states.

To this factor may be traced many of the important cleavages in our society. The racial composition of those living in Oklahoma villages is studied by analyzing the race and nativity makeup of the village population as a whole and comparing it with the racial composition of those living in other residential categories. Then, an attempt is made to discover differences in the race and nativity characteristics of the population of the various sizes of incorporated centers.

1. Total Village: The residents of the villages of Oklahoma are overwhelmingly white. In fact, 93.6 per cent of those living in these small incorporated centers are members of the white "race." In addition to the whites there are appreciable numbers of Indians and Negroes.

The village population of the state is even more homogeneous racially than one might assume from the preceding figure. Of those living in villages, 92.7 per cent are native white while only 0.9 per cent are foreign born white. Therefore, only one out of every fourteen people living in

TABLE I. RACE AND NATIVITY COMPOSITION OF THE VARIOUS RESIDENTIAL GROUPS IN OKLAHOMA, 1940.

Residential Group	Percentages			
	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites	Negroes	Indians
State Total	89.2	0.9	7.2	2.7
Rural-nonfarm Village	92.7	0.9	4.7	1.7
Non-Village	88.1	0.7	6.8	4.4
Urban	88.9	1.1	9.1	0.9
Rural Farm	88.6	0.7	6.4	4.3

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II.*

these population aggregates is other than native white.

It may be seen (Table I) that the largest minority group in the state is the Negro, but only 4.7 per cent of those living in the small incorporated centers are of this race. The other important racial group is the Indian. The census reports do not list the number of people in the classification living in the villages, but this fact is of little consequence to our study since the "other races" category is nearly synonymous with Indian.³ Oklahoma has a larger number of persons in this category than any other state. Yet, in spite of the relative importance of Indians in Oklahoma, only 1.7 per cent of the population of the villages is so classified.

2. Villages compared with other Residential Groups: The mere statistics of racial composition are given added meaning by comparing them with similar data for other residential groups. For this reason, the race and nativity composition of the villagers is compared with that of the residents of the urban, non-village rural-nonfarm, and the rural farm areas.

Table I gives the percentages of native whites, foreign born whites, Negroes, and Indians for all residential classes. In contrast with the cities, the villages have a higher proportion of native whites, and a lower proportion of foreign born whites. But the most noteworthy variation in

racial composition between the village and the urban populations is the proportion of Negroes. The cities have nearly twice as high a portion of colored inhabitants as the small population centers, 8.8 per cent compared with 4.7 per cent. Numerically Indians are of little importance in either residential group; yet it is found that the villages contain a noteworthy higher percentage of Indians than the larger population aggregates.

For the non-village portion of the rural-nonfarm population, whites are of considerably less consequence than in the villages. The former has a smaller proportion, not only of total whites, but also, of native whites than any other residential category. Too, it has a slightly smaller percentage of foreign born whites than the villages. Negroes are of more significance in the non-village rural-nonfarm population than in the small incorporated centers. A much greater proportion of Indians live in the remainder of the rural-nonfarm areas than in the villages, 4.2 per cent as contrasted with 1.7 per cent.

Rural farm people are generally thought to be the most homogeneous residential group, but in Oklahoma the village inhabitants are more homogeneous, at least from a racial viewpoint. Of the rural-farm population, 11.2 per cent is classed as other than native white, but all except 7.3 per cent of the village population is native white. Table I indicates that the villages have a larger proportion of foreign born whites

³Only 0.4 per cent of this group in Oklahoma is other than Indian. Throughout this study the "other races" category will be referred to as Indian.

than the farm population, but that the latter group has a considerably higher proportion of Negroes and Indians than the villages.

3. Size of Village: It has been previously noted that there are considerable differences in racial composition between the village and urban populations. This fact suggests that the race and nativity composition of the village population may change accordingly as the size of the center increases or decreases. To investigate this possibility, the villages are grouped into three divisions: (1) small villages, population less than 500; (2) medium villages, population ranging from 500 to 1,000; and (3) large villages, population 1,000 or more. Table II gives the racial distribution of the populations of these three sizes of villages, along with that of two sizes of urban centers in Oklahoma, those with populations of less than 10,000 and those with populations in excess of 10,000.

TABLE II. RACE AND NATIVITY COMPOSITION OF OKLAHOMA'S INCORPORATED CENTERS BY SIZE, 1940.

Size of Center	Percentages			
	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites	Negroes	Indians
Villages				
Small	93.4	0.9	4.1	1.6
Medium	92.3	0.7	5.7	1.3
Large	92.5	1.0	4.6	1.9
Cities				
Small	90.9	0.9	6.5	1.7
Large	88.2	1.2	10.0	0.6

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II.*

This table reveals that no changes in race or nativity are consistently

associated with the changes in the size of the villages. But, when the two urban groups are included in our comparisons, some generalizations may be drawn. First, the proportion of native whites shows a marked increase as the size of the incorporated center decreases. Second, there is a definite tendency for the percentage of Negroes in the population to increase with the size of the population center. Third, there appears to be a slight tendency for the proportion of foreign born whites to increase with the size of the population aggregate. And fourth, there is a slight decline in the importance of Indians as the size of the center increases.

Age Composition: The age structure of a society has many direct influences on the characteristics of the institutions and mode of life within a society. Thus, in any thorough study of the villages of Oklahoma, it is necessary to give special attention to age composition and to such questions as: What are the outstanding features of the age structure of the villages? How does the age composition of the village population compare with that of other residential groups in Oklahoma? Is the age structure of all villages identical?

1. Total Village: For years the most popular device for analyzing age composition has been the familiar age-sex pyramid. The age-sex pyramid is subject to criticism because it tends to minimize important age differentials, especially in the upper ages. A more refined device, index numbers, for studying the age pro-

file has been used by Smith.⁴ This technique has been used to secure the data presented in Figure 1. The total population of the state was taken as the norm, and indexes were calculated for the village, urban, non-village rural-nonfarm, and rural farm inhabitants.

Observation of this chart indicates that the age profiles of Oklahoma villages are similar to those of small population centers elsewhere.⁵ The village population of Oklahoma not only has a deficiency of children but also a deficiency of those in the productive ages. Most significant of all is the fact that the villages have much more than their share of old people. For the first forty years of life, the index numbers cluster around 95. Be-

tween the ages of forty and fifty the index numbers reach 100 or "normal." Then, from the ages of fifty and over, the indexes for the village population are exceedingly high. This concentration of persons in the advanced years of life is by far the most important feature of the village age profile.

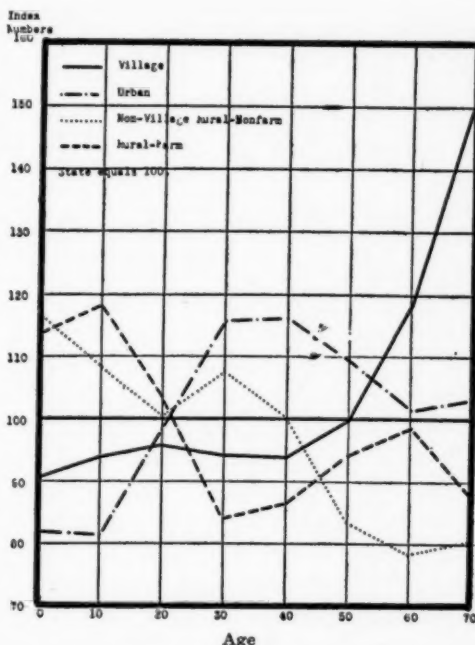


Figure 1. Index Numbers Showing the Relative Importance of Each Age Group in the Total Population of the Residential Categories in Oklahoma, 1940.

2. Villages compared with other Residential Groups: The distinguishing features of the age profile of the villages are brought out more clearly by comparing it with the urban, the rural-farm, and the remainder of the rural-nonfarm populations. Oklahoma villages, like urban centers, have a low proportion of children. How-

⁴ This method of using index numbers in studying age composition is described as follows: "... Taking the percentage in the total population as a norm, or 100, the corresponding index number for the age group 0-4 in the population of New York City is equal to 83.9, that for the urban population is equal to 115.1, and that for the rural-nonfarm population to 111.8. If the children under five had made up as large a proportion of the urban population as they did of the total population, the index in each case would have been equal to 100.

"The charting of the data . . . is according to strictly conventional patterns. Age grades are represented on the horizontal scale, and variations in the index numbers on the vertical scale. . . For each of the segments being analyzed, for example the urban population, the index numbers are plotted to represent the proper magnitude directly above the midpoints of the respective age groupings. By connecting all of the points and applying accepted methods of smoothing, the resulting curve shows the relative importance of persons of any given age in any segment of the population in comparison with the situation in the total population." T. Lynn Smith, "Some Aspects of Village Demography," *Social Forces*, XX (1941), 17-19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

ever, the urban concentration of persons in the productive ages contrasts sharply with the scarcity of these age groups in the village. Also, the lack of old persons in the former is in sharp contrast with their concentration in the latter.

The differences in the age structure of the village population and the remainder of the rural-nonfarm population are also very great. At all ages, the population of the non-village segment contrasts very sharply with the village population. Where the villages have a small proportion of their populations in a specific age group, the rest of the rural-nonfarm population concentrates there. This residential group differs from the village in having a great excess of very young children and an excess of people around thirty years of age while the village population is deficient at both these ages. The most important distinction between the two residential categories is found in the advanced ages. Whereas villages have a great excess of old persons, the other portion of the rural-nonfarm population has only a small fraction of its inhabitants in these ages.

The age profile of the rural-farm population more closely resembles that of the villages than that of any of the other residential groups, but here too, important differentials exist. The rural-farm inhabitants have a higher proportion of children than the villages. Both the small population aggregates and the rural-farm areas are characterized by a de-

ficiency of people in the productive ages. This deficiency is more pronounced in the rural-farm population than in the village population. There is a tendency for these two groups to have an excess of old people. Oklahoma villages, however, have much higher proportions of the aged than does the rural-farm category. There is a sudden decrease in the index numbers for the rural-farm population above sixty years of age, but the indexes for the villages are very high for this age bracket. This differential is very likely due to the nature of the settlement pattern of the first white settlers of the state some fifty years ago and by a recent tendency for them to retire from the farm to the village. Therefore, in future years, when natives of the state more nearly comprise those in the upper age brackets, the rural-farm areas probably will have a relatively greater proportion of old people. If this occurs, the age profiles of the village and rural-farm groups will resemble each other much more than at present.

3. Size of Village: The age structure of the small population centers differs from that of large centers. This fact might cause one to wonder whether there is a gradual transition in the shape of the age profile as the size of center changes or whether the change develops suddenly because of some inherent difference between village and urban centers; therefore, an attempt is made to study any possible transformations in age composition which develop as the size of the vil-

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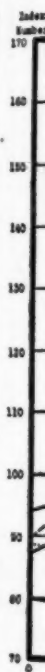


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lage changes. For this purpose the villages of Oklahoma are placed in the same three size groups which have previously been used. Figure 2 is constructed by plotting the age profiles for these three sizes of incorporated centers. Then, for comparative purposes, the urban areas of Oklahoma are again grouped into two classes and added to the chart. This last step is taken to make any trends in age composition as the size of incorporated center changes stand out, and also, to give any conclusions additional support.

Differentials in the age structure of the various size population centers

are shown to exist at three age periods: childhood, the productive age, and old age. At each of these periods we find distinct differences in age composition as the size of center changes. Very important is the fact that in every case the changes hold consistently true for all five groups. The chief findings may be enumerated as follows:

1. As the size of the center decreases, the proportion of people in the most advanced age groups increases very noticeably.
2. As the size of the village becomes larger, the proportion of the population in the productive ages increases to a noteworthy degree.
3. There is a distinct increase in the proportion of children as the size of the population aggregate decreases.

Sex Composition: Since sex composition is another important factor in the makeup of a population, it behoves us to discover any significant sex differentials that may exist in the villages of Oklahoma. The use of the sex ratio provides the best technique for studying sex composition. The sex ratio is simply the number of males per 100 females. This ratio is easy to compute and to understand. In a group having an equal number of males and females, the sex ratio would be 100. Thus, if there were fewer males than females, the sex ratio would be less than 100; if fewer females than males, the sex ratio would be over 100.

1. Total Villages: Figure 3 has been constructed by charting the sex ratios

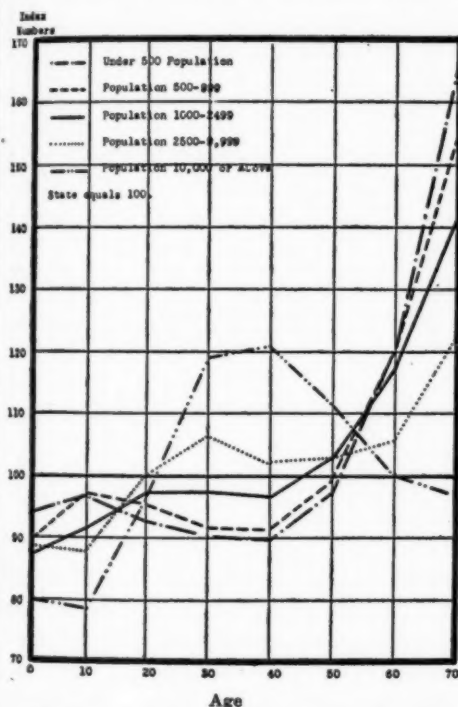


Figure 2. Index Numbers Showing the Relative Importance of Each Age Group for the Population of the Various Sizes of Incorporated Centers in Oklahoma, 1940.

at each age period for the different residential groups in the state. We observe that the sex ratio for young children in the villages is somewhat above 100. This figure may be considered as "normal" since the sex ratio at birth is usually about 106. Partially because of a higher death rate at all ages for males than females but principally because of migration, the sex ratio in the villages falls, after the first few years of life, to the low nineties and remains there. The low sex ratio in the villages of Oklahoma is consistent with what has been found by numerous writers.⁶ Brunner, for example, found a low sex ratio in his study of agricultural villages in America and accounted for it as follows:

"There are two explanations for this. In the first place, one-seventh of the women in these villages are widows. The retired farmer does not long survive after retirement; his wife continues her routine tasks with perhaps greater enjoyment and outlives her husband. Widows of farmers also move to the village. In the second place, house-to-house censuses made in eight villages, as well as testimony received in other communities, indicate that farm girls are more apt to seek employment in the village, and village boys are more

apt than their sisters to seek employment in large towns."⁷

The sex ratios for those in the advanced ages are unique for Oklahoma villages in that there are more males than females. Observation of the figure shows the sex ratios in the advanced ages for all residential groups in the state to be higher than is normally expected. The sex ratio for those above sixty-five in Oklahoma is 117; yet, in the United States as a

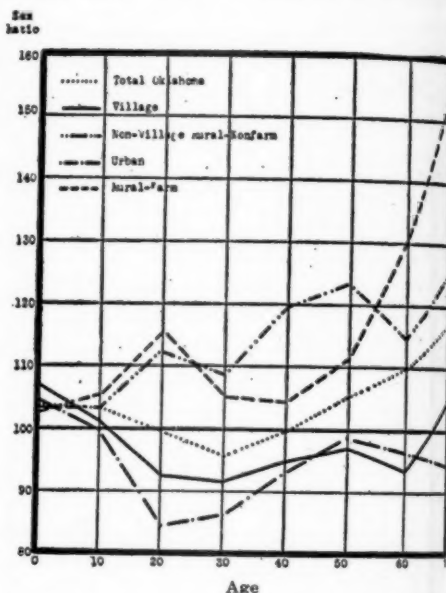


Figure 3. Sex Ratios by Age for the Population of the Residential Categories in Oklahoma, 1940.

whole it is only 95.5. This feature of sex composition in the state is the result of the great preponderance of males over females among the migrants to the area when it was set-

⁶ Some of the works in which the excess of females in the villages has been noted are: C. Luther Fry, *American Villagers* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1926), p. 61; J. H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935), p. 238; and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁷ Edmund deS. Brunner, *Village Communities* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1928), p. 22.

tled. There is a tendency for the sex ratio to be very high in newly settled regions. The surviving settlers of the state are largely males but are now quite aged. Thus, the high sex ratio in the upper age brackets. By the time of the next census, most of the surviving settlers will have died and the influence of those remaining on the sex composition of the villages and of the state in general will be negligible.

2. Villages compared with other Residential Groups: It has already been indicated that not only the villages, but also, the other residential categories in Oklahoma have an unusually large proportion of males in comparison with the nation. To study this phenomenon further, attention should be directed to the sex ratios of the villages as contrasted with those of the urban, the non-village rural-nonfarm, and the rural-farm areas.

The sex profiles of the urban and village populations are nearly identical. (See Figure 3.) The urban areas, however, do have a lower proportion of males among the young adults. This differential apparently results from the unusually low sex ratio of the Negroes, who are twice as numerous in the cities as in the villages. The sex ratio for the total whites in Oklahoma is 102.4, while for the total Negroes it is only 97.8.

For the oldest age group, the villages have more males than the large population centers. A high proportion of the original settlers to the state, largely males, have moved from the

rural-farm areas to the villages. Those originally settling in the small centers have remained there. On the other hand, recent migrants to Oklahoma have tended to move to the cities and have tended to be equal numbers of each sex. The urban population has increased rapidly in recent years, and consequently, the importance of the pioneers has decreased since much of this growth is the result of new migration to the state. Therefore, since most of the old people in the villages of Oklahoma are male settlers and since the old people in the cities tend to be recent migrants, with equal numbers of each sex, the village population has higher sex ratios than the urban residents in the advanced ages. In a few years after the influence of the original settlers of the state has disappeared and since heavy migration to the cities has stopped, the sex ratios for the advanced years in the villages and in the cities will probably be almost identical.

The sex ratios at birth are, of course, similar for all groups. After the first few years of life, however, the non-village rural-nonfarm population has a very different sex profile than the villages. From Figure 3 it may be observed that males are much more important in the former group than in the villages. While the sex ratios of the village population remain in the nineties throughout most of the life span, the sex ratios for the rest of the nonfarm residents rise steadily with advancing age, reaching a peak of 126 for those above sixty-five years of age.

Males are also much more important in rural-farm areas than in the villages. There are two periods in the life span where the farm population has a much higher proportion of males than the small population aggregates. Girls start migrating from their farm homes at an earlier age than males. This phenomenon causes the sex ratio to reach a peak around the age of twenty. It then drops off as the young males migrate from the farms in greater numbers. After the age of forty, the disparity in the importance of males between villages and rural-farm areas becomes greater with increasing age. The peak in the proportion of males is reached in the rural-farm areas for those above sixty-five. At this age the sex ratio for the farm population is 155, while for the villagers it is 105. Thus, females are more important in the villages; whereas, males are by far the more important in the farming population.

There appear to be two distinct types of sex-profiles among the residential groups. On the one hand, villages and cities have nearly identical patterns. On the other, the sex ratios of the non-village rural-nonfarm and the rural-farm areas closely resemble each other. Females are the more im-

portant in the former groups, while males are more influential in the latter.

3. Race: The United States Census provides no data for the villages of Oklahoma on a racial basis other than the mere number of males and females in each race and nativity group. But with these we may compute sex ratios for the racial stocks of the villages. Table III presents the sex ratios for the race and nativity groups of the total population of the small incorporated centers in the state. The foreign born whites in the villages have a higher proportion of males than have any of the other race or nativity groups. The high sex ratio of the foreign born whites (116.7) in the villages is in keeping with the well known principle that males contribute heavily to long-distant migration. The sex ratio for the Indians is 99.2. This ratio is high when compared with the indexes of the native whites (96.8) and the Negroes (95.0). The low sex ratio at birth for Negroes keeps the proportion of males low for this race for all ages. The relatively low ratio of males among the native whites is probably due to the fact that whites have a long life expectancy, which tends to de-

TABLE III. SEX RATIOS BY RACE FOR OKLAHOMA VILLAGES, 1940

	Native Whites	Foreign Born Whites	Negroes	Indians
Total Village Population	96.8	116.7	95.0	99.2

Source: *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940, Volume II.*

crease the sex ratio. On the other hand Indians, with a lower life expectancy than whites, have a somewhat higher sex ratio.

4. Size of Village: As an aid to understanding the importance of size of village in the sex composition of Oklahoma villages, Figure 4 has been constructed. On this figure are plotted the sex ratios, according to age, for the three sizes of villages used in our former discussions. Again, the two sizes of urban centers have been added to the graph for comparative purposes.

When we examine the sex profiles of the three sizes of villages, no noteworthy difference in sex composition may be found. True, there are some variations among the three groups for the first few years of life, but these differences are probably explained by errors in enumeration.

Smith found a slightly greater femininity in villages than in urban areas.⁸ In this study, however, there appears to be no noteworthy differences between the sex composition of the villages and that of the cities. It has to be granted that the largest cities do have, in comparison with the villages, a dearth of males in the ages twenty to thirty, and an excess of males between the ages of forty and sixty. Yet, there is a tendency for all the categories plotted on the figure to have low sex ratios between the ages of twenty and forty and high sex ratios between the ages of forty and sixty. Smith and Hitt held that these S-shaped sex profiles seemed to

be caused by the misstatement of women's ages.⁹ Women in the twenties and thirties have a tendency to understate their ages to census enumerators, causing the sex ratios to be low in these ages and high in the upper age brackets. These writers found this tendency more pronounced for Negroes than whites.

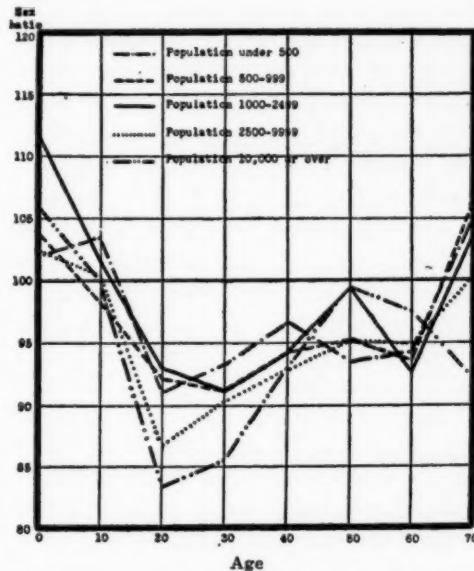


Figure 4. Sex Ratios by Age for the Population of the Various Sizes of Incorporated Centers in Oklahoma, 1940.

It has already been discovered that the proportion of Negroes in the population increases with the size of the incorporated center. It is the belief of the writer that it is the misstatement of age, especially by the Negroes, that makes the sex profile of the large cities different from that of the villages. Too, there may be a

⁸ T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, "The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indexes," *Metron*, XIII (1939), 95-108.

⁹ Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

tendency for urban women to understate their ages more than rural women. The fact that there is a lower proportion of males among Negroes than among whites would tend to keep the sex ratios in the cities low. This fact, however, appears to be of secondary importance.

Figure 4 also reveals an apparent tendency for the proportion of males above sixty to decrease as the size of the population aggregate increases. This tendency probably results from the fact that the settlers of Oklahoma, mostly males, decrease in importance as the size of the incorporated center increases. If this hypothesis is valid, the sex composition of the aged for the various size centers will probably be nearly identical within the next generation.

Although some differences appear in the sex profiles of the various sizes of villages and cities, these variations do not reflect real differences in sex composition. Such variations appear to be chiefly the result of: (1) the misstatement of age and (2) the influence of the original settlers. The proportion of Negroes does play some part in lowering the sex ratios, but the limitations of our data prevent us from determining the extent of this racial influence. From the analysis of the data, the influence of the Negro appears secondary to the factors mentioned. In view of these facts, it may be concluded that there are no important variations in sex composition traceable to the size of population aggregate.

Farmers Opinions on Post-War International Relations*

By Ray E. Wakeley†

ABSTRACT

Opinions of farmers toward sharing food with other countries are generally favorable. Opinions toward major allied and enemy countries follow distinctive and well-defined patterns of response. While four in five would help allied countries, two in five would help Germany and Japan, and one in five would help none. Persons less than forty-five years of age with above-average socio-economic status were most favorable toward sharing food with other countries. Leaders were more favorable than were others.

Farmers and others were equally willing to share food with each and all of our major allies. Opinions toward sharing food with other countries indicate a favorable opinion toward our allies rather than an international opinion favorable to all nations. This and other similarly favorable opinions toward our allies indicate progress toward the development of opinions which will be more broadly international.

RESUMEN

La opinión de los agricultores sobre la participación de los comestibles con otras naciones es generalmente favorable. La opinión respecto a las potencias aliadas y los países enemigos sigue normas de respuestas bien distintas y bien definidas. Mientras cuatro de cada cinco ayudarían a las potencias aliadas, dos de cada cinco ayudarían a Alemania y al Japón, y uno de cada cinco no ayudaría a ninguna. Personas de menos de cuarenta y cinco años de edad y de estado económico-social superior al promedio eran las mejores dispuestas a compartir los comestibles con otros países. Algunos líderes se sentían mejor dispuestos que el común de la gente.

Los agricultores y otras personas se hallaban igualmente dispuestos a compartir los comestibles con cada una de las potencias aliadas. La opinión acerca del compartimiento de los comestibles con otros países indica más bien una opinión favorable hacia nuestros aliados que un punto de vista internacional favorable a todas las naciones. Esto y otras opiniones igualmente favorables hacia nuestros aliados indican progreso hacia el desarrollo de opiniones que serán más generalmente internacionales.

During the months ahead it will be extremely important to know what farmers think and why they think as they do. In no field is this understanding more important than in the rapidly expanding field of international relations. Problems of United Nations organization, loans to Britain, food for the starving, control of Japan and Germany, cooperation with Russia, control of the atom bomb, press against limited time for solution. On some of these issues, such as participating in the United Nations organization and furnishing food to needy countries, farmers have expressed their opinions. On some questions their position is not yet clear, but an examination of farmers opinions shows that they are characterized by a regularity and a consistency which gives us confidence in the data

and in the opinions stated. Properly interpreted they appear to be a safe guide to action on the problems studied.

Studies of Opinions on Food-Sharing

Food-sharing was selected as a question for more intensive analysis in Hamilton County, Iowa, in September and October, 1944 and in the surrounding cash grain area in Iowa in March and April, 1945. Food was an item of immediate need in other countries which was of interest to farmers. Also their opinions on food sharing are intermediate when compared to their opinion on participation in international organization which was more favorable than opinion toward food sharing, and their opinion on sharing machinery which was less favorable. The question was asked: "Would you be willing to continue rationing after the war for a period to help feed the people of the following countries?" Following was a list of seven major enemy and allied countries and the answer; yes, no, or undecided, was recorded for each

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country. This made it possible to compare the various countries and see if opinions toward sharing food with any of them were in close enough agreement to be considered a basis for a unified international opinion.

These are sample studies. The first consists of 272 families in the Webster City community. The second, consists of 157 farm families in the cash grain area of Iowa. Both samples were taken by the random block method within stratified counting areas. In the Webster City community, separate samples were taken in the county seat town of Webster City (6,738 population), in three small villages, Kamrar, Blairsburg, and Woolstock (total 835 population), and in the farming area (approximately 5,758 population) within which a majority of farm families make Webster City their regular trading center. The approximate number of families can be obtained by multiplying the samples by 18, 3, and 12 respectively.

Distribution of these families by age of the head of the family and by socio-economic status scores is quite

uniform.¹ The villages are slightly atypical because a larger proportion of the families have a score less than 80 than either the city or the open country. The villages also have a slightly smaller proportion under 45 years of age, but this tendency is not marked. Farm families are a bit exceptional because of the larger proportion with heads under 45 years of age, but they are about evenly divided among the —80 and the 80+ score groups.

Opinions Toward Different Countries Reveal Patterns

Replies for individual countries show 3 in 4 of the families in the Webster City community were in favor of helping each of the allied countries: France, England, Russia and China. China was the most favored country but differences of opinion toward helping our 4 major allies were negligible.

¹Status was measured by the Sewell socio-economic status scale (short form): See W. H. Sewell, "A short socio-economic status scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (June, 1943), 161-170.

RESIDENCE, AGE OF HEAD, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILIES IN THE WEBSTER CITY COMMUNITY

Place of Residence	Age of Head of Family								
	Total			Under 45 Years			45 Years and Over		
	S-E. S. Scores			S-E. S. Scores			S-E. S. Scores		
	Total	-80	80+	Total	-80	80+	Total	-80	80+
Webster City	100	57	43	34	18	16	66	39	27
Three Villages	72	51	21	23	16	7	49	35	14
Open Country (farm)	100	55	45	46	25	21	54	30	24
Total	272	163	109	103	59	44	169	104	65

Japan was the least favored nation but the opinion toward Germany was so similar that they can be considered together. Less than half were in favor of sharing food with them.

Italy holds an intermediate position with 2 in 3 families in favor of sharing food with her. Some of the persons interviewed were of the opinion that Italy was a victim of circumstances and should not be considered a major enemy like Japan or Germany. But since Italy fought against us, they are of the opinion that she is not entitled to a full measure of assistance.

Differences within each of these 3 patterns of response are negligible while differences between them are highly significant statistically and highly important to our analysis of international opinion.

At this point we are justified in stating as a hypothesis that there has developed a favorable opinion toward our major allies as shown by the opinion toward sharing food with various countries. Such unanimity of favorable opinion toward our allies, if continued and reciprocated, can

quickly become the basis for a strong inter-allied opinion. This opinion is based more upon value received than upon cultural similarities and differences. For instance, China and Japan were held in quite similar but unfavorable esteem after the first world war. Now China is most favored and Japan is least favored. This is not so much because our dislike of Japan has increased as it is because we are so much more favorable to China. However, we must not overlook the significance of the Chinese Revolution of 1912 which started China on the way toward becoming a political democracy. Acuteness of their need is also recognized especially in the case of China and of Russia, countries which farmers think should not pay as much in return for wartime assistance as our other major allies.

Opinion toward sharing food with our major allies is equally favorable among town, village and farm families. Important differences arise when Japan and Germany are compared with other countries. Village families are most favorable and farmers are least favorable toward sharing food with Japan and Germany.

RESPONSES TOWARD SHARING FOOD TO HELP SELECTED WAR-TORN COUNTRIES GET A NEW START

Country (in order enumerated)	Opinion Toward Food-Sharing		
	Favor	Opposed	Undecided
France	204	31	34
Germany	129	78	60
England	201	34	34
Japan	124	84	60
Russia	201	33	35
Italy	177	45	47
China	207	31	28

PERCENTAGE OF FAVORABLE ANSWERS TOWARD SHARING FOOD
WITH OTHER COUNTRIES DURING THE POST-WAR PERIOD

Age	Socio-Economic Status Score	Countries Selected	
		Major Allies	Japan and Germany
Under 45	Under 80	78	42
	80 or more	85	49
45 and over	Under 80	68	43
	80 or more	75	53

Socio-economic status and the age of the head of the family affect opinion toward food-sharing in the Webster City community more than does place of residence. Families with above average status are more in favor of helping allied countries as are also those under 45 years of age.² Conversely, older persons with lower status scores are least in favor of helping the allies. Those with higher status are also more in favor of helping Japan and Germany but age is not an important factor affecting willingness to help enemy countries. It seems that those who are above average in their own living are more in favor of helping war-torn countries. But the younger ones believe that it is good business to help our allies, rather than Japan and Germany.

Distinctive Patterns of Opinion Emerge

Dominant patterns of opinion toward sharing food with other countries are significant results of this analysis. These major patterns are internally so consistent and the differences between them are so large that

these patterns will be used to replace the more cumbersome and repetitious analysis of opinion toward helping each country. It is important therefore that the patterns be carefully defined and described. The four major patterns of response are as follows:

1. *Help all countries.* This response includes persons who are in favor of sharing food during the post-war period with each and all of the seven countries included in the survey. This is a natural response for those with strong humanitarian impulses, who may or may not have the facts at hand on which to discriminate between the various countries. It seems obvious that the true internationalists would be included here. Whether their opinion is a matter of principle or a reasoned conclusion is not indicated by the data.

2. *Help all allied countries.* This response includes persons who are in favor of sharing food with each and all of the four major allied countries. They might also favor sharing with one or two enemy countries but not with all of them. Italy was the enemy country most frequently included in this pattern. This more discriminating

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

but less international position appears to be more uniformly and strongly held than any of the others. Hence, it might become a basis for international organization though it can be criticised on a humanitarian basis because of the "refuse-your-enemies and help-your-friends" point of view. Obviously, this response is not governed by a recognition of the need for assistance.

3. *Help no country.* This response includes persons not in favor of sharing food with any of the seven countries in the survey. Persons were included here if they were either opposed or undecided about helping each and all countries included. In this study half are against helping other countries and half are undecided. However, none of these persons are in favor of sharing though only half of them are actively anti-international on this question.

4. *Help some countries.* This response includes persons in favor of helping some country or some combination of countries, either allied or enemy, not included under pattern one or two above. This pattern is more like pattern two but it may include

only one or two countries or perhaps all but one of the allied countries. It also includes those very few respondents who omitted an answer to one of the allied countries. This pattern is somewhat similar to pattern two and might be combined with it.

The relative size of the four pattern groups makes comparison easy within the community as a whole. Of every five families two would help all countries, one would help none and two would help some or all of the allied countries. Only one in fifteen would help some allies but not all of them. While a majority would not share food with all countries, three in four would share with each and all our major allies.³ Four in five would help one or more of the war-torn countries.

Some Town-Country Differences

Place of residence has an important bearing on opinions toward sharing food with other countries. Webster City families are slightly more favor-

³ These proportions for Webster City community are arrived at by combining the 3 residence samples according to the proportion which each sample is, of the population it represents.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PATTERNS OF RESPONSE TO FOOD-SHARING AND RESIDENCE, WEBSTER CITY COMMUNITY

Pattern	Place of Residence		
	Webster City	3 Villages	Farm (o.c.)
1. Help all countries	48	43	32
2. Help all allied countries	30	4	41
3. Help no country	17	24	18
4. Help some countries	5	2	8
Total Replies	100	73	99

able toward all countries. The three villages have a much larger proportion favorable toward helping all countries. They also have a larger proportion in favor of helping none of them. This all-or-none reaction so characteristic of the villages can not be explained on the basis of the German background of one village because the other two villages with French and English backgrounds react the same way. True, these village families were well represented in the armed forces but data show that the opinion of families with members in

appears to them to be a natural extension and continuation of their wartime food production so vital to our major allies.

Iowa farmers living in other counties in west-north-central Iowa report similar opinions. They are more negative, three in ten not being in favor of helping any country, and they are less in favor of helping allied countries. These differences are not important enough to justify a sharp distinction between the two sample groups which are combined in the following table.

OPINIONS OF FARMERS AND FARM LEADERS TOWARD SHARING
FOOD WITH WAR-TORN COUNTRIES

Patterns of Replies	Farmer Leaders	A.A.A. Township Committeemen	Other Farmers
Help all countries	13	31	55
Help all allied countries	16	10	48
Help no other country	3	5	47
Help some countries	5	4	19
Total	37	50	169

the armed forces does not differ significantly from the opinion of families not so represented. It seems likely that these village reactions can be explained first, on a basis of traditional food-sharing and, second, on the basis of their reaction of right or wrong, with less careful consideration of the problem based on a practical basis for its solution.

Farm people on the other hand have the smallest proportion in favor of helping all countries and the largest proportion in favor of helping our major allies. Farmers are quite logical and consistent in this position which

Leaders Opinions Are More Favorable

Community leaders who hold office in any of the major organized groups are more internationally minded than the rest of the people. Only one in ten leaders are not in favor of helping any country. We have said that those who are above average in socioeconomic status are more in favor of helping, as are also those below forty-five years of age. This, however, does not account for all of the difference. We must conclude that leaders are more in favor of helping because position and helpfulness and breadth of

outlook are positively related. They are elected because of their broader views and they receive more information after their election.

While community leaders are significantly ahead of their followers, they maintain the same general pattern of opinion. Town and village leaders are more in favor of helping all countries, while farm leaders are more in favor of helping our allies.

The most favorable opinion toward post-war food-sharing was found among a sample consisting of fifty township committeemen of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Three in five of these locally elected township leaders were in favor of sharing food with all countries. This is an important difference between the A.A.A. township committeemen and other farmer community leaders who are more in favor of helping the allied countries. It would seem that township A.A.A. committeemen in Iowa are especially cognizant of the fact that our food problems are to be solved by international action and must be solved on a world-wide basis.

Farmers Favor Peace Based Upon International Economic Equality

Recognizing that the peace is still to be made and that the economic basis for the peace is tremendously important, this question was asked in Webster City community: "What effect would a peace based upon economic equality for all nations have upon your own standard of living?" Slightly more than half were of the opinion it would have no effect on

them. Townsmen, villagers and farmers were alike in the proportion reporting "no effect."

Three in ten opined that the results of international economic equality would be good. Less than half as many, one in seven, thought such a peace would effect them unfavorably. The favorable opinions were not evenly divided. In the villages and on the farms only one in six thought international economic equality would affect them favorably. In Webster City two in five reported favorably.

Age was not an important factor in determining opinion toward the effect of international economic equality. Heads of families forty-five years of age or older thought the same as those under forty-five on this question.

High socio-economic status affected opinions adversely. Over half of those with above average status thought their standard of living would change and two in five of this upper half thought economic equality among nations would have a bad effect on them. Only one in three of those with below average status thought their standard of living would be changed by a peace based upon economic equality among nations and three in ten of this lower half thought the change would be bad for them.

This question on the effects of a peace based upon economic equality is a far-reaching one. One cannot be sure of the correct interpretations of the answers. So opinions on this question are more nearly a test of confidence in our ability to maintain our

own position, of our belief in equality among nations, and of our faith in continuing the favorable development of international relations which received major impetus through the war effort. The data indicate the probability of a majority favorable to international economic equality even among those who have above average status. The major question is how many of those persons, 55% of the total, who think international economic equality will make no difference to them, would be in favor of establishing peace on that basis. The data are not at hand, but it seems likely that a majority would favor in principle a peace based upon international economic equality but might disagree on details affecting their interests.

Other Questions and Other Regions

Farmers and rural people in Hamilton County were more favorable toward joining an association of nations to keep the peace than they were toward food sharing. Toward sharing farm machinery and equipment they were less favorable than toward either food sharing or international organization but a majority was favorable to sharing machinery with war-torn countries.

Farmers in other regions have also expressed themselves similarly favorable toward these three questions.⁴ The degree of favor varies somewhat among regions, depending on such factors as the relative importance of

international trade, possible competition from countries to be helped, and the socio-economic status of the farmers. Judged by the opinions stated, Midwest farmers appear to be less traditional, less class conscious and more commercially-minded in considering international questions than most other areas are. However, corn belt farmers apparently do not fear post-war competition with farmers in war-torn countries.

Some Implications for Action

Opinion polls, mostly by Gallup, also indicate that farmers are favorable toward participation in international affairs. The question remains: Will farmers who express favorable opinions act or support action on international questions? This study suggests an answer in two parts.

1. Farmers will strongly support international action which is accompanied by a workable plan and is not strongly opposed to their immediate interests. Farmers themselves are not likely to act personally and directly unless such action is needed to protect their interests.

2. Farmers interpret international cooperation to mean organized cooperation among major allied countries. These are the nations our farmers would feed and it is the favorable opinion toward these nations which tip the balance so strongly in favor of international organization. Allied opinion is the chief empirical basis for the inter-allied organization and its expansion into world organization.

⁴Bureau of Agricultural Economics, *Farmers' Opinions About Post-War Conditions*, (October, 1944).

Farmers and others in the post-war period might be expected to become less favorable toward participation in international affairs for several reasons.

1. As the war ends they tend again to become absorbed in domestic problems, especially problems of reconversion.

2. As the men in our armed services come home, their wartime experience and personal contact with other nationals will influence us, and not all their experiences were favorable. However, we can depend upon the sincere desire of service men to prevent future wars, though not in their belief that wars can be prevented.

3. As plans for the United Nations become more specific it will be easier to object to specific details of the plan

than it was to object to the general principle of international cooperation. However, it seems that we can count upon the fact that we have signed the charter to carry us through minor international difficulties.

Domestic reconversion and plans for the peace are two major problem areas, still largely unsolved, which strongly influence our opinions toward participation in international organization. As plans for rapid reconversion proceed on a basis which will discourage deflation and inflation, we will feel freer to consider international problems and more confident of the outcome. As peace terms are agreed upon and put into effect, that will remove another major obstacle to the successful operation of the United Nations organization.

Farm Enlargement in North Dakota: Reasons and Causes

By J. M. Gillette†

ABSTRACT

North Dakota farm enlargement is a special pattern of farm enlargement in the United States.

Farms enlarge in passing from east to west in the state, while the number of farms decrease.

Increase in size of farm varies inversely with precipitation and directly with per cent of loss of county population.

Inquiry of farmers in three counties as to reasons for their farm enlargement elicited twenty-eight specific reasons.

In frequency among replying farmers, desire to raise family standard of living ranked first, 54 per cent, and wish to provide opportunity for oncoming sons ranked second, with 48 per cent.

Leading causes of farm enlargement discussed are population shifts, mechanized farming, improved markets and marketing, reduced precipitation, and changes in food tastes. To exactly measure and to rank these causes as to their gravity is beyond the ability of the writer.

RESUMEN

El engrandecimiento de las fincas en North Dakota tiene una norma especial en el engrandecimiento de fincas en los Estados Unidos.

Las fincas engrandecen al pasar del este al oeste en el estado mientras que el número de fincas se reduce.

El aumento en el tamaño de las fincas varía en proporción inversa con la precipitación pluvial y en proporción directa con el por ciento de pérdida de población municipal.

A las preguntas hechas a los agricultores en tres municipios en cuanto a las razones del engrandecimiento de las fincas, dieron veintiocho razones específicas.

Siguiendo la frecuencia de las respuestas: en el 54 por ciento de los agricultores el deseo de mejorar las condiciones de vida fué la primera, y en el 48 por ciento, o sea la segunda, el deseo de proveer oportunidades a sus hijos.

Las causas principales del engrandecimiento de las fincas discutidas son cambios de población, la mecanización de la agricultura, mercados y métodos de venta mejores, la reducción de la precipitación pluvial y cambios de gustos. Le ha sido imposible al escritor ordenar en sentido de gravedad todas estas causas.

This study of farms seeks to exhibit the situation in North Dakota, contiguous regions, and the nation, to denote trends, and to discuss reasons and causes of farm enlargement. The study samples largely relate to three meteorological divisions of North Dakota as seen in the spot-map on precipitation, Figure 1, the all-time mean precipitation of each division being noted. The discussion will bring out the relation between precipitation and size of farm.

Throughout the nation and the world, a farm is a pretty definite and continuous affair. Such seems not the case in North Dakota and what obtains there now is likely to be the case throughout the Great Plains states. It is, therefore, well to recall the United States explanation as to what a farm is for census purposes: A tract or all the tracts of land under the management and/or tillage of one operator. In North Dakota a farm

is a shifty affair and the larger farm situation regarding farmers and farms is exceedingly kaleidoscopic. A farm may be one consolidated tract of land continuously operated by a farmer for a long period of years or a plurality of tracts (from 2 to 50 or more), some or a great proportion of which are discrete and widely distributed, the constituent tracts changing from year to year, sometimes rendering a continuous farm identity impossible. A Bowman county farm of some 15,000 acres was composed of about 50 tracts in 1942 and of a little larger number in 1945, the whole in each case being widely scattered and largely discontinuous over two or three townships. Perhaps a third of the 1942 tracts had been dropped and as many new ones of a larger acreage added by 1945. John Doe of Grand Forks county had a farm of six tracts in 1942 and one of seven tracts in 1945, none of which were identical with any of those of 1942. Yet the AAA regarded and recorded "it" as John Doe's farm. It is

† Research Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of North Dakota.

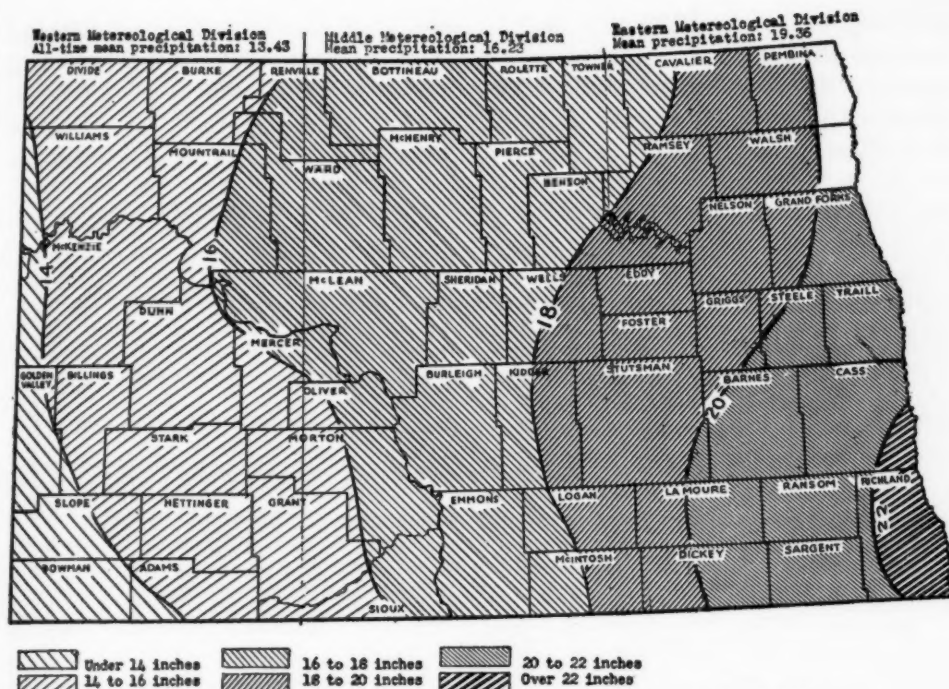


Figure 1. North Dakota mean precipitation, by regions, 1898-1928, North Dakota Planning Board.

apparent that a North Dakota farm is rather phantasmagoric.

The situation in North Dakota regarding the size of farms is represented in the accompanying figure, Figure 2, for the last census year, 1945. A scrutiny of this figure shows that, for most part the smaller farms are in the eastern part of the state, and the larger ones are in the western and southwestern portions, the size graduating upward as we proceed from east to west. As is later found, this size of farm pattern is similar to the regional distribution of precipitation in the state.

There is an almost regular trend in the growth in average size of farm

in North Dakota from 1890 to 1945. This is shown in Table I, under heading, Size of Farm. The mean size has increased from 277.4 acres in 1890 to 588.3 in 1945, more than a hundredfold growth. All census decades manifest a growth, only the inter-decenial censuses exhibiting a contrary movement. We have reason to suspect the accuracy of these between-decenial data.

The number of farms and the state acreage in farms have undergone a somewhat cyclical movement. The decennial census number of farms increased from 27,611 in 1890 to 77,975 in 1930, then shrank to slightly under 74,000 in 1940, then declining

to under 70,000 in 1945. The writer suspects that the 1945 number is too small, in the light of the great fluctuation of the 1935 census number above the decennial numbers of 1930

and 1940. The state acreage increased from 7,660 in 1890, to 39,118 in 1935 and then declined to 37,936 acres in 1940, a slight increase then manifesting itself by 1945. The acreage re-

TABLE I. CHANGES IN NORTH DAKOTA FARMS

Census Year	Number of Farms			Size of Farm			State Farm Acreage		
	Number	Change	Per cent	Acres	Change	Per cent	Thousand Acres	Change	Per cent
1890	27,611			277.4			7,660		
1900	45,392	17,784	64.3	342.9	65.5	23.6	15,543	7,883	102.9
1910	74,360	28,968	38.8	382.3	40.6	11.8	28,427	12,884	82.9
1920	77,690	3,060	10.3	466.1	83.8	21.9	36,215	7,788	27.4
1925	75,970	-1,720	-2.2	459.9	-6.2	-1.3	54,327	18,107	-5.2
1930	77,975	2,005	2.6	496.8	36.9	8.0	38,658	-460	12.6
1935	84,906	6,631	7.8	462.2	-33.6	-6.7	39,118	460	1.2
1940	73,963	-10,644	-12.6	512.9	50.7	11.0	37,936	-1,182	-3.0
1945	69,649	-4,314	-5.8	588.3	75.4	18.3	40,976	3,013	7.8

* Minus sign (—) signifies decrease.

Data from U. S. Stat. Abstr. and Report of Dept. Agr., for appropriate years, and preliminary reports of Census for 1945. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

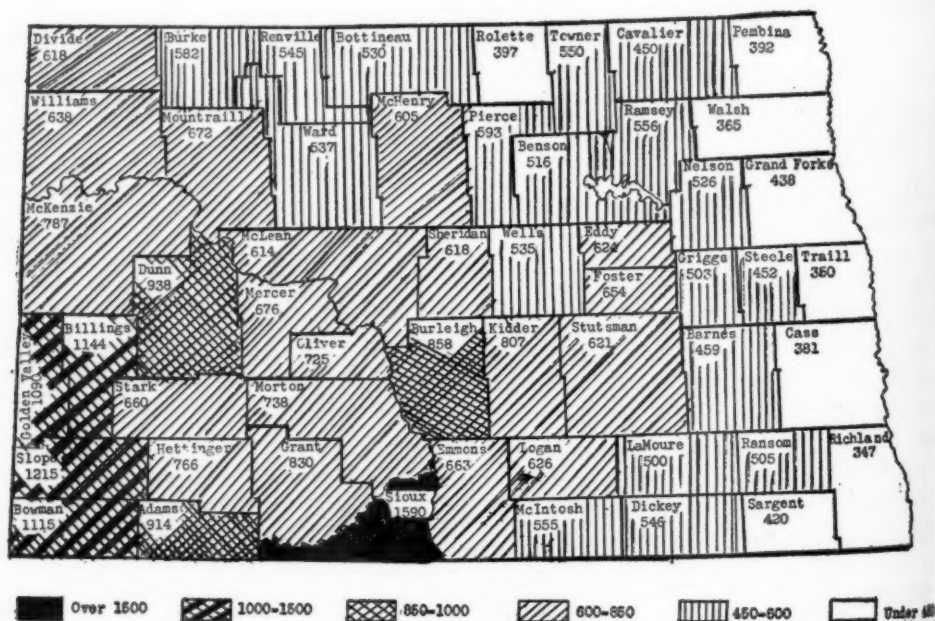


Figure 2. Average size of farms in North Dakota, 1945, by counties. Design and work by J. M. Gillette, 1945

mained fairly stable between 1920 and 1940.

The trends in size and number of farms are graphically represented in Figure 3. The cyclical movement in number of farms is quite visible. The straight edge of a ruler laid on the chart just to the right of the ends of the bars denoting decennial size of farms is not far from the end of any of them, showing an almost arithmetically gradual trend from 1890 to 1945.

A study of change in size, number, and acreage of farms for the different sections of the state is found in Table II. The comparison is between the eastern, central, and western tiers of counties, representative of the three meteorological divisions of the United States Climatological Reports.

Respecting number of farms, it is indicated that the per cent of change between 1940 and 1945 in the eastern tier was -4.2, a decline in number of that percentage. The per cent decline

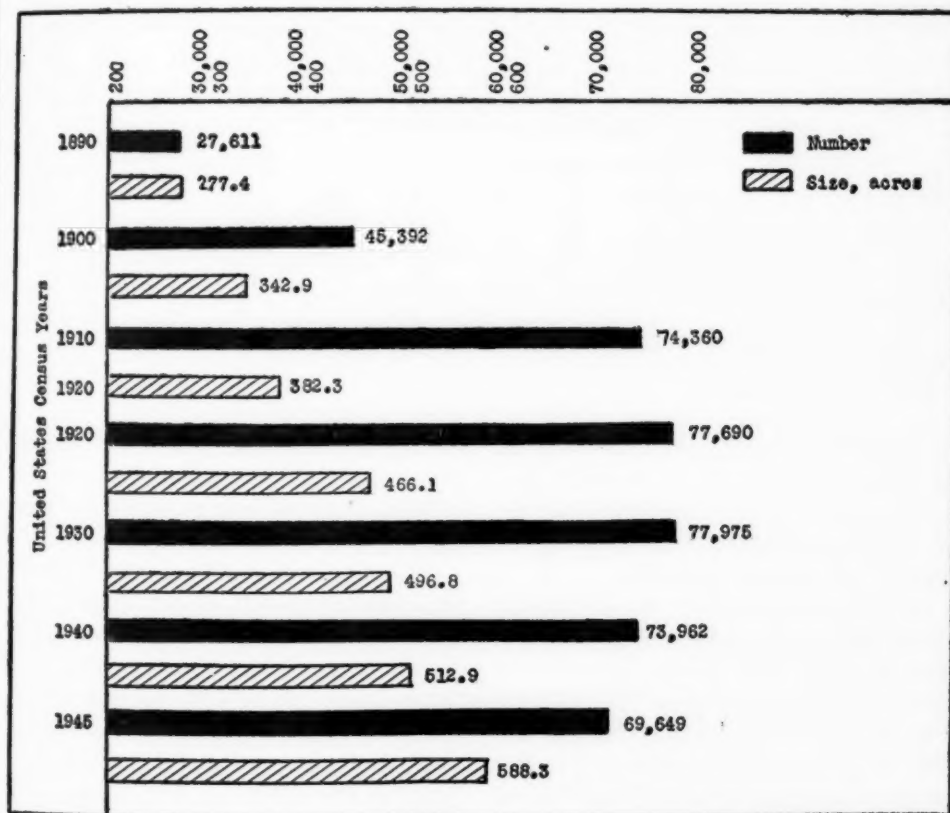


Figure 3. Number and average size of North Dakota farms, 1890 to 1945. } Designed and executed by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

TABLE II. CHANGE IN NUMBER AND ACREAGE OF NORTH DAKOTA FARMS, 1940-45
BY COUNTIES

Eastern Tier of Counties	Number of Farms				Farm Acreage in Thousands				Size of Farm	
	1945	1940	Change		1945	1940	Change		1945	1940
			No.	Per cent			No.	Per cent		
Pembina	1753	1811	-48	-2.7	690.5	677.7	12.8	1.9	392	374
Walsh	2244	2490	-246	-9.9	818.6	813.1	5.5	0.7	365	336
Grand Forks	1990	2065	-75	-4.0	873.3	840.1	32.2	3.3	438	307
Traill	1428	1498	-70	-4.7	542.5	546.8	-4.3	-0.8	381	365
Cass	2522	2592	-70	-2.7	1094.4	1093.7	0.7	0.1	434	422
Richland	2466	2490	-24	-1.0	856.1	848.4	7.7	0.9	347	341
Total	12413	12940	-533	-4.2	4876.4	4819.8	47.6	1.0	393	372
Central Tier										
Bottineau	1940	2219	-279	-12.5	1027.5	979.1	48.4	4.9	528	441
McHenry	1843	1992	-149	-7.5	1116.3	1031.5	84.8	8.0	605	518
Sheridan	920	1018	-98	-9.6	569.6	541.8	27.8	4.2	618	532
Burleigh	1147	1212	-65	-5.6	982.0	794.7	187.3	23.5	858	656
Emmons	1386	1413	-27	-1.9	917.8	854.0	63.8	7.6	663	604
Total	7236	7854	-618	-7.9	4613.2	4201.1	412.1	9.8	638	534
Western Tier										
Divide	1235	1306	-71	-5.4	762.1	682.1	80.0	11.8	618	522
Williams	1910	2080	-170	-5.3	1220.5	1028.0	192.5	18.7	642	494
McKenzie	1340	1563	-223	-14.3	1055.7	916.0	139.7	13.0	787	518
Golden Valley	466	507	-41	-8.1	507.4	466.2	41.2	8.8	1090	919
Slope	514	589	-75	-12.8	624.1	587.4	36.7	6.2	1210	997
Bowman	576	659	-85	-12.6	643.1	612.1	31.0	5.1	1115	929
Total	6101	6704	-663	-9.9	4812.9	4291.8	521.1	12.4	788	640

Data from U. S. Census publications. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

in number of farms of the central tier was -7.9 and in the western tier it was -9.9. As we pass from east to west the percentage of decline in number of farms increases.

In total number of acres in farms, there was an increase in all sections between 1940 and 1945. Nearly 48,000 acres were added in the eastern tier, an increase of 1 per cent, about 412,000 acres were added in the central tier, the per cent of gain being 9.8, while over a half million acres were added in the western tier, a gain of 12.4 per cent. The largest gainers

among these counties were Grand Forks in the east, Burleigh in the central, and Williams in the western tier.

The mean (average) size of farm increased from 372 to 393 acres in the eastern tier of counties, 5.6 per cent. In the central tier the mean size of farm grew from 534 to 638 acres, 19.4 per cent; while in the western tier the average size of farm increased from 640 to 788 acres, 23.1 per cent. The western tier of counties were the only ones to show an average size of farm of over a thousand

acres. In that tier, Slope county had the largest average sized farm, one of 1,210 acres.

There has been a long time trend towards farm enlargement in North Dakota, in its general region within the nation, and in the nation at large. When the facts are arrayed they become impressive and suggest that they are the expression of an irresistible drive, an historic, dynamic projective, in the given direction. We observe the trend in size of farms in North Dakota, in the adjacent states of Minnesota, South Dakota, and Montana; in our political division of the nation, namely, the West North Central states, and in the nation at large. There has been a consistent, although not an absolutely regular, trend toward farm enlargement in all these areas. United States census data for 1945 is available, at the time of writing, only for North Dakota and the nation, while facts as far back as 1850 were obtainable locally only for the United States. The 1850 farm size of 202 acres for the country at large antedated the Homestead Act which undoubtedly served to democratize land holding and to reduce the average size of farms.

The trend in size of farm for the United States between 1850 and 1945 is represented by the lengthy almost horizontal curve at the bottom of the chart, Figure 4. After 1880 a general upward movement is denoted. The four shorter curves represent the size of farm movement in North Dakota and its three adjacent states. The Minnesota follows the national curve

closely and conservatively. The curves for the two Dakotas travel upward rapidly and not far from each other. The Montana curve is rather a rocket-appearing affair. Why the large recession occurred between 1900 and 1910 is unknown to this writer.

Figure 5 presents rates of gain curves for number and size of North Dakota farms for the period 1890-1940. They denote a fall in rate of gain, not a loss in number or size. The rate of increase in number of farms in the state declined from over 60 for the decade ending 1900 to zero in 1930 and then sank below that line for actual losses. The rate of gain in size of farm fell from about 38 for the early decade to about 7 by 1940 and then rose to nearly 20 by 1945.

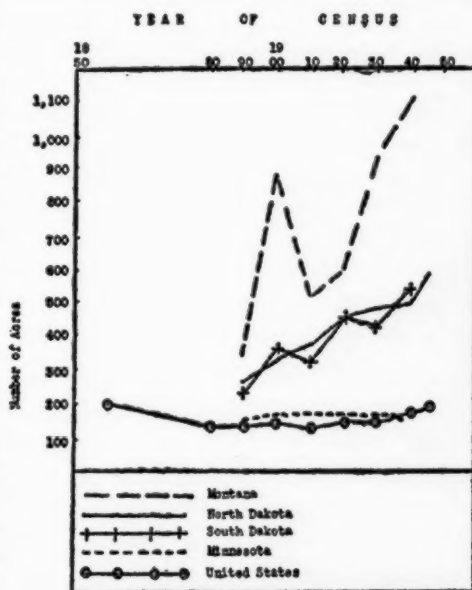


Figure 4. Size of farm in the United States and specified states at Census years, 1850 and 1880 to 1945. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette. Source of data, U. S. Census publication for appropriate dates.

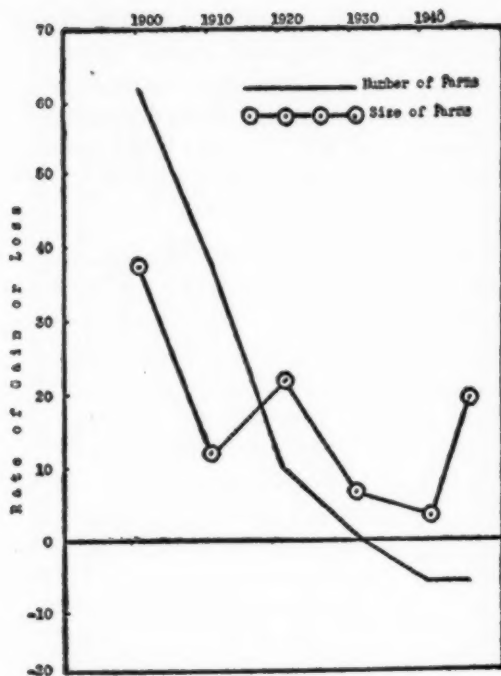


Figure 5. Per cent of change in number and size of North Dakota farms, 1890-1940. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette from data given in tables.

One county in each of the three tiers is the object of our AAA study, as to reasons for farm enlargement in North Dakota. It is seen that Grand Forks County lost 75, or 4 per cent in number of farms, gained a farm acreage of 32,200, or 3.8 per cent, and increased its average size of farm from 407 to 438 acres. It is

a good representative of its tier of counties in all respects save acreage enlargement, that being much greater than that of its sister counties. Burleigh, of the central tier of counties, lost 65 farms (5.6 per cent), gained an acreage of 187,300 (23.5 per cent), much larger than its sister counties, and increased the size of its average farm about 200 acres, a very much greater gain than that made by any other county of its tier.

Bowman County of the western tier is fairly representative of its class in loss in number of farms and in increase of size and acreage. Its per cent of loss in number of farms is 12.6, it gained 5.1 per cent in mean county acreage. It increased its mean size of farm 186 acres as against an average increase of 148 acres for its tier of counties.

Table III depicts the situation among the tri-county AAA farms which were studied. We have the number for each county given which were signed up in 1942 and 1945, the number in each case which gained in size, and the average acreage increase per farm. Of the 570 farms signed up in 1945 in Bowman County, 144 had enlarged since 1942. The similar

TABLE III. CHANGE IN NUMBER AND SIZE OF TRI-COUNTY FARMS SIGNED UP WITH TRIPLE A

County	Farms Signed Up		%	Gaining in Size		Total Acreage of Farms		%	Increase per Farm Acres
	1945	1942		Num-ber	Per cent	1945	1942		
Bowman	570	659	-10.4	144	25.3	186,982	130,126	43.8	394.8
Burleigh	1000	1212	-20.2	145	13.2	195,390	137,946	41.6	398.9
Grand Forks	1146	1172	-2.2	128	11.2	68,156	39,041	68.2	209.2

Data obtained by writer from Triple A offices of the specified counties in July, 1945.

couplet in Burleigh County was 1,000 and 145; that in Grand Forks County was 1,146 and 128. In all cases the number signed up had declined: Bowman, 10.9 per cent, Burleigh, 20.2 per cent, and Grand Forks, 2.2 per cent. The acreage in these farms had enlarged from 41,500 in Burleigh to 68,200 in Grand Forks, and the mean farm enlargement per county ranged from 209 acres in Grand Forks to 399 in Burleigh County, Bowman standing at 395. The comparison of these enlargements among signed up farms with that of all farms of these counties, as observed in Table II, is striking. In Grand Forks County the acreage increase between 1940 and 1945 was 15.6, in Bowman it was 47, while in Burleigh it was 154.5. It would seem, therefore, that something in the AAA situation stimulated a great farm enlargement.

Reasons For Farm Enlargement

When, in conversation with numerous individuals, I have inquired as to the reason for farm enlargement in our state and the country at large, only about one uniform reason has been given, namely, mechanization of farming. My own skimpy knowledge about the situation assigned a plurality of reasons and the research studies of T. S. Thorfinson ("Why Farms Change in Size")¹ and others confirmed and enlightened my opinion. I conceived that I might throw some further light on the subject by a concrete study of North Dakota farm enlargement, that a selection of

a few counties might serve as a sample of the whole state situation. The counties chosen were Grand Forks, Burleigh, and Bowman, the first to represent the Red River Valley counties, the second to typify the central tier of counties extending from Bottineau county on the north to Emmons at the south, and Bowman to stand for the western tier from Divide to Bowman, and also express the situation of the large farm counties, which are, at the same time, those having the smallest annual rainfall. These three sets of counties would fairly typify the east, the center, and the west of the state.

In order to secure the real farmer reasons for enlargement, I had to get to the farmers in some way. I had neither the time nor the money to canvass hundreds of farmers in each county. Instead I went over all the farms signed up with the county AAA in each county, compared those of 1942 with those of 1945 as to size, estimated the size of each operator's holdings for each year, listed those which had enlarged, and tabulated the results. A letter of explanation was sent to each farmer, together with a self-addressed postal card containing a short questionnaire to elicit reasons for enlargement. The total number of farmers addressed in that manner was 424; 145 in Bowman county, 149 in Burleigh, and 130 in Grand Forks. My questionnaire was so simple and brief that I expected a large return. However, I was somewhat disappointed in this, for only 81 farmers replied, about 19 per cent of those from

¹U. S. Department Agriculture, Bureau Agricultural Economics, Lincoln, Nebraska.

enlarging farms in Bowman, 15 in Burleigh, and 25 in Grand Forks. The number of replies from those counties in the same order were 27, 22, and 32.

AAA county offices have their data organized on either the township or county basis—Grand Forks having the township system, Bowman and Burleigh counties the county system. In the township system, each township is broken down into large total tracts and each tract bears a number and usually consists of many different parcels. A farm may consist of one or more of the tracts of the numbered total or of tracts from two or more such totals. To find the total acreage of a farm for a given year, it is required to total the acreage of all the tracts composing it. John Smith's farm, we will say lies in tract 2, Grand Forks township. It is composed of the NW $\frac{1}{4}$, the NE $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 16, and NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 15. The total acreage for the year 1945 was 360. In 1942, Smith's acreage was made up of the mentioned tracts in section 16 and north half of NW $\frac{1}{4}$ SE $\frac{1}{4}$ of section 15. His farm had grown 20 acres according to this record. In the counties organized on a county basis, the whole county is broken down into numbered totals of farms, and the acreage of a farm for 1942 and 1945 is obtained as in the case of the township system. The township system made it possible for me to study samples of all Grand Forks county farms by examining those of 19 of the 41 townships. I examined all the farms of those townships which were signed up, totaled the acreages of all

tracts of farm by farm for each of the years, discovered those gaining during the four seasons, and so obtained the final results. Where the county system obtained, all signed up farms of the county had to be examined, the totals obtained, and the comparison made. Where, as in Bowman county, numerous farms were composed of a dozen or scores of different tracts of land, it was a laborious and tantalizing task to make the summations. This was especially true when the tracts composing the farms were considerably different in 1942 and 1945. The writer devoted hours to computing the size of just one great Bowman county farm.

The years 1942 and 1945 were set for comparison in the study by the status of the records in the first county attacked in the program, Grand Forks. The first year lying back of 1945 which had a complete record of all farms of the townships making possible a comparison with 1945 was 1942. The year 1940 would have been preferred but the nature of the records, as also those of 1941, ruled that out. Bowman and Burleigh county studies had to follow the same pattern in order to make a comparison possible.

The issue is raised as to whether the sample was large enough to serve as a reliable sample. The answer is certainly yes, in view of the philosophy, the logic, and the practice of sampling. The Gallup and Fortune polls of voters predict the results of a national presidential election within one or two per cent of accuracy by

sampling less than 1/100 of one per cent of the national electorate. These 81 farms studied represent 2.2 per cent of all tri-county farms of 1945, and 19.1 per cent of all tri-county AAA farms which had undergone enlargement. For Grand Forks county these percentages were 1.6 and 24.6 per cent; for Burleigh county these percentages were 1.9 and 14.8, while in Bowman county they were 2.9 and 19.1 per cent. These samples are proportionally overwhelming larger than those of the Gallup and Fortune polls. We may thus take this study to be fairly representative of the counties studied and also of the state.

Table IV exhibits the number of AAA farms enlarging during the period involved, 1942-45, the number of these which replied to the questionnaire sent out to the operators of such farms, and the per cent of those addressed which replied.

The farmers who were addressed in the three counties returned a large variety of reasons why they enlarged their farms. Table V gives reasons which did not directly deal with crops or livestock, fourteen of these in all. The per cent of farmers who gave each specific reason is given for each

county, and the mean percentage of farmers so replying for the combined counties is seen in the last column. Looking at that last column it appears that the most prevalent reasons concerned raising the family standard of living. The next reason in rank was to offer opportunity for oncoming sons for a place on the farm. The third regarded better farm adjustment in view of improved machines and methods of farming. The fourth in rank concerned making a desirable investment in additional land. The fifth related to weed elimination. Bowman and Burleigh followed about the same order, while Grand Forks changed the ranking considerably, the order of the high four being opportunity for children, better farm adjustment, raising level of living, and making a desirable investment. Surprisingly, only in Bowman county did a concern for the security of the nation show itself in the replies. But that is to be regarded as accidental, not as basic. A number of reasons arise in Grand Forks county which do not occur in the other counties, such as providing for more diversified farming, ability to pay debts, practice summer fallowing, more pas-

TABLE IV. RETURNS FROM FARMERS TO WHOM QUESTIONNAIRE WAS SENT

County	Number of Farmers		Per cent Replying
	Addressed	Replying	
Bowman	145	27	18.6
Burleigh	149	22	14.7
Grand Forks	130	32	24.6
Total	424	81	19.1

Data and estimates as in Table III.

TABLE V. PER CENT OF FARMERS ASSIGNING THINGS OTHER THAN CROPS AND LIVESTOCK AS REASON FOR ENLARGING FARM DURING THE PERIOD, 1942-45, BY COUNTIES

Item	Per cent of Reporting Farmers, by County			
	Grand Forks	Burleigh	Bowman	Mean
Better farm adjustment	45.8	28.8	37.7	37.3
More diversified farming	6.1			
Opportunity for oncoming sons	51.5	42.8	48.1	47.8
Desirable investment	27.2	14.3	22.2	21.2
"To make a living"	3.0			
Raise family standard of living	42.5	52.4	70.4	54.0
To "be able to pay debts"	3.0			
Practice summer fallowing	3.0			
More pasture	3.0			
Kill weeds let go by renters	3.0		11.1	7.1
For land with a house	3.0			
Take advantage of better prices	1.6			
In "country to stay"			3.7	
To make country secure			3.7	

Source of data and estimates as in Table IV.

ture land, to secure a house, better prices. Bowman's particular variants are national security and permanency of resident in county.

The percentage of farmers giving specific crops as reasons for farm enlargement is shown in Table VI. In Bowman county the order of ranking is wheat, flax, seed grains, oats and

barley, for the big five. In Burleigh the order of ranking is wheat, flax, barley, potatoes, and oats. The Grand Forks order is wheat, flax, potatoes and beets, barley, oats. Wheat and flax stand tops in all counties. Bowman stands alone in the mention of seed grain which rates third in frequency in that county. Burleigh em-

TABLE VI. PER CENT OF FARMERS ASSIGNING PRODUCTION OF MORE OF FOLLOWING CROPS AS REASON FOR ENLARGING FARM DURING PERIOD, 1942-45, BY COUNTIES

Crop	Per cent of Farmers per County		
	Grand Forks	Burleigh	Bowman
Wheat	42.5	66.6	61.6
Flax	39.4	52.4	57.7
Oats	12.1	19.1	15.4
Barley	12.5	40.0	15.4
Corn	6.1	4.8	3.9
Potatoes	15.1	28.6	3.9
Beets	15.1		
Soybeans	3.0		
Seed grains			42.3
Field peas	3.0		

Source of data and estimates as in Table III.

phasizes potatoes above the other counties.

The way the reasons emphasize livestock is to be observed in Table VII. Here Bowman and Burleigh appear as heavily concerned with providing more largely for livestock production. In frequency of mention by farmers the Burleigh county order of rank is cattle, hogs, poultry, sheep. In Bowman county the order of ranking is cattle, hogs, sheep, and poultry. Due to the nature of the questionnaire first tried out (on Grand Forks county), the kinds of livestock were not specified, hence the nature of the percental reply in that county. So far as this record goes, it appears that livestock is a low ranking interest there as compared with Bowman and Burleigh counties, less than nine per cent of the farmers being interested to mention it. But the data is doubtless defective.

The above array of reasons for farm enlargement among North Dakota farmers demonstrates that the reasons are very numerous, about twenty-seven different reasons having been put forward. Evidently mechanization of farming occupies

a minor role, so far as reasons go. This matter will find further mention and discussion in the third section of this paper which deals with causes for farm enlargement.

Cause of Farm Enlargement

We need not argue that there must be a connection between reasons and causes of farm enlargement. All reasons, the process of defining motives, are telic causes but not all causes are reasons, consciously defined motives. Reasons are largely the implementation of causes. Causes are the dynamic, propulsive forces which drive human beings to formulate reasons for taking action. People who act and give reasons for so doing often are unconscious of the cosmic drives which lead them to do so. Many farm laborers and renter operators leave farming because they say they can do better, stand a better chance to make a living, in cities. The drives may be population shifts, changing markets, mechanization of farming, a competent realization of which they do not attain.

A brief consideration of some of the background causes of farm en-

TABLE VII. PER CENT OF FARMERS ASSIGNING PRODUCTION OF MORE OF FOLLOWING KINDS OF LIVESTOCK AS REASON FOR ENLARGING FARM DURING PERIOD, 1942-45, BY COUNTIES

Kind of Livestock	Per cent of Farmers per County		
	Grand Forks	Burleigh	Bowman
Cattle		81.0	63.0
Hogs		57.1	25.9
Sheep		23.8	18.5
Poultry		42.8	7.4
More livestock	9.4		

Source of data and estimates as in Table III.

largement is deserving. A sufficient argument and interpretation in each case will be made to establish an intelligent probability. The order of treatment has no relevancy to the rank of importance as cause of the various items. The writer doubts if anyone would be able to arrange the causes noted in a scientifically demonstrated ranking order. Anyway it is not important for the purposes of this study.

Population shifts pretty certainly act as causes in farm enlargement, although it is difficult to prove it beyond a shadow of a doubt. These are the synthetic results of all the innumerable changing conditions and pressures going on in the Great Society. The impact of such shifts, in their turn, react upon and determine the changes and direction of such changes in almost everything in that society. The living situation and the economic conditions of the farms of region, state, or nation are touched by great population movements and respond so as to adjust themselves to such changes. Let us consider this very patent case. During the last war, millions of undrafted men and women of adult age left farms and villages for war work in old or new cities. This brought on a farmer and a farm laborer shortage. It looks reasonable to think that a part of farm enlargement was in response to this labor shortage, that is, an unconscious effort of adjustment to make one farm operator take the place of two. Here we have to assume the presence of mechanized means of doing so.

That the size of farm has a bearing on population might be supposed. Our Table II shows that the average size of farm increases in passing from east to west in North Dakota, that of the eastern tier being 372 acres in 1940, of the middle tier, 534, and of the western tier, 640. The density of rural population runs in the reverse order, as also does the rate of gain and loss in county population. For the three tiers of counties, the eastern tier gained 3.5 per cent in county inhabitants for the decade ending 1940, the middle tier counties lost 4.7 per cent and the western tier counties lost 22.7 per cent. Between 1940 and 1945, the per cent of gain in mean size farm for those tiers of counties from east to west were: 5.0, 5.9, and 10.6. The per cent of loss of inhabitants between 1940 and 1943 in the same order were: -14.0, -17.6, and -18.7. The coefficient of correlation of per cent of change in mean size of farm between 1940 and 1945 and the per cent of loss of rural population from 1940 to 1943, by counties, was -0.17, giving the same kind of picture as the above.

To state the facts is not to prove a causal relationship between the two series of variables. This writer feels that the series vary together a good deal because both are produced by underlying conditions, but that also there is considerable inter-causality existing of the alternate kind, sometimes one factor being the cause of changes in the other factor, and sometimes the reverse. He knows of no way to make a completely objective proof of any of his suppositions.

The effect of urban increase of population as a result of a drift of inhabitants from farms would be to make larger markets and demands for farm produce, since in the new situation the migrants cease to produce their own foodstuffs from the soil. This in turn could well stimulate farm enlargement in order to supply the greater demand. This assumes decreased farm population and the material means to operate an increased farm acreage.

Practically all assert, whether they know anything about the case or not, that mechanized farming leads to enlarged farms. A somewhat informed judgment on the part of students of the farm economy supports the opinion. Thinking back over trends in farming in the Great Plains region, the writer is conscious of observed mechanization changes and development. He has been close to farming on the Plains since 1867 and has seen changes in breaking, plowing, cultivating, cutting, reaping, threshing implements that have taken place since that date. My father set up one horse farming in southeastern Kansas in 1867. He soon advanced to two horse plow and riding cultivator. Later the sulky riding plow came in with three horses. Then later appeared the gang plow pulled by two teams or by five horses. Planters, drills, harrows, cutters and reapers, threshers and harvesters came in succession. The evolution was from ten acre wheat fields to a hundred or more, from 20 or 40 acres of corn to 60 or 100 or 200. More power to cover

a larger acreage brought a demand for a greater acreage over which to spread the power. Just to state the case is to prove it. Enlargement of farms as a result of enlarging and diversifying farm machines is a conclusion we are driven to because of irrefutable proof.

Enlarged markets and improved marketing facilities for farm produce challenge our attention as causes of farm enlargement. The development of world markets certainly encouraged commercial farming, raising things to sell, not to consume on the farm. More farmers raised more stuff to sell into these markets. This striving to raise more and to sell more naturally and logically stimulated as great a farming acreage as farmers could manage. With the advent of greater and greater mechanical agencies, this striving eventuated into greater farm acreage and so, farm enlargement. In more recent days we have seen the marketing process speeded up by the development of improved highways and the use of great trucks to haul produce over them. They, too, have exercised a stimulating influence on farmers, impelling them to larger operations and to increased acreage.

A dearth of precipitation, other things being equal, may exert a drive toward farm enlargement. An annual precipitation which sometimes is sufficient to produce crops and furnish pasturage and sometimes is insufficient, may, after experience has demonstrated the wisdom of it, lead to operation of greater and greater acre-

age. Our accompanying chart on regional and graduated precipitation in North Dakota, Figure 1, when studied face to face with the figure on size of farm, by counties, is a convincing piece of evidence looking in that direction. It is immediately patent that as we proceed from east to west through the state that the size of farms increase and that the annual rate of precipitation grows less. The region in the state of largest farms is the region of least annual precipitation. A greater farm acreage in the southwest gives assurance that the greater pastures and more numerous low places where hay may be cut or crops grown conduces to a better chance of family support. It is to be noted also that loss of county popu-

lation correlates with lessening precipitation. A comparison of Figure 2 and Figure 6 confirms this.

We have seen that the farmers of North Dakota who had enlarged their farms offered a higher standard of living as one reason for that operation. Emulation of the standard of living set by others sustaining a higher one exercises a stimulating influence on ambitious and alert people to realize such a level of living for themselves and to do everything possible to affectuate it. In that sense, a desire for a higher level of living may readily become a cause impelling farmers toward farm enlargement. We saw that this reason was a dominant one among the farmers of the counties studied who had enlarged

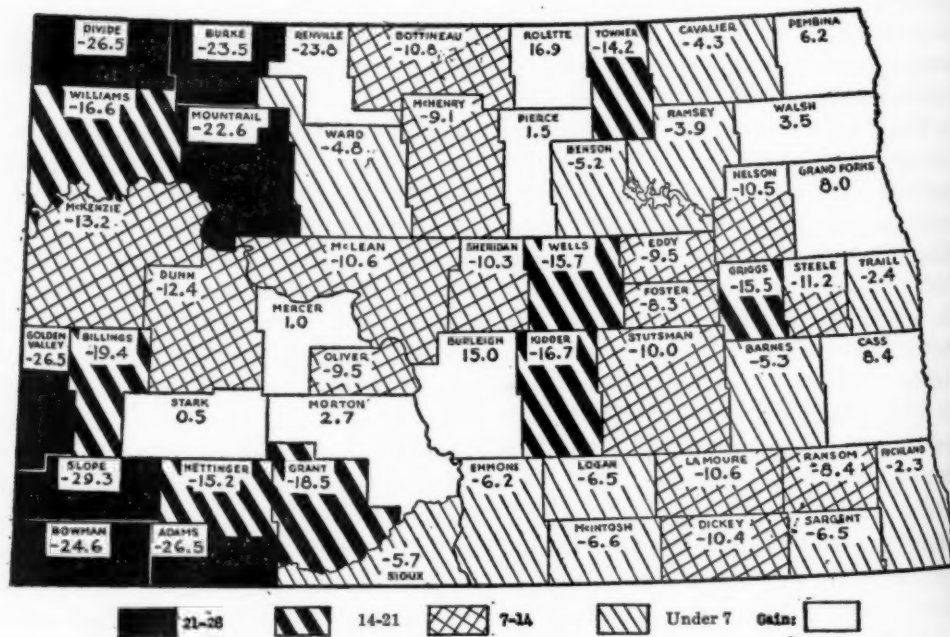


Figure 6. Changes in North Dakota county populations between 1930 and 1940. Minus sign means loss. Data from Census on Population, 1940, Vol. 1.

their farm acreage. It is safe to say that that reason also acted as a cause to move them in the given direction.

Changes in food tastes and so in demands for certain kinds of crops might well lend a stimulus to farm enlargement in certain areas. One may think here of the larger demand for wheat as a food during the last few decades. Wheat eaters are springing up all over the world where that cereal was not a food formerly. Wheat has become a large staple of food in China, Japan, Java which have been almost exclusively rice eaters from time immemorial. The amount of wheat exported in the world increased from about 650 million to 1,030 million bushels between 1910 and 1929. During the years of depression and drought in Canada and the United States, the export curve declined greatly. The stream of export that enlarged again after those disturbances was again broken by the great world conflict since the beginning of the forties. This increased world demand for wheat was registered in the enlargement of North Dakota farms. This increase was from an average size of 382 acres in 1910 to 496 acres in 1930 and finally to 588 acres in 1945. An increased wheat acreage was a large motive in this farm enlargement. The proportionate wheat acreage has actually increased in North Dakota during the period in question. The mean wheat acreage for the five year period, 1909-13 was about 46 per cent of the total state crop acre-

age. The mean percentage of wheat acreage for the five years 1926-30 was almost 50 per cent of the total crop acreage. The farmers have steadily gone out for more and more wheat. This is to be observed in Figure 7 where the mean acreage at different periods of the important crops is shown.

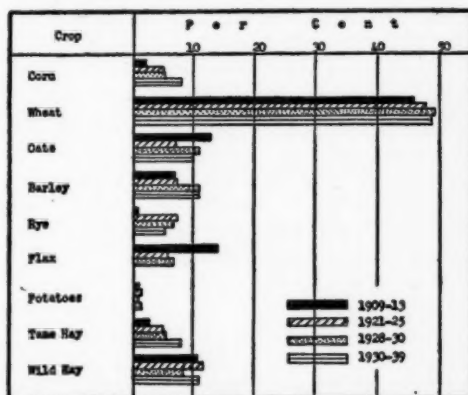


Figure 7. A measure of crop diversification in North Dakota, in terms of principle crop acreages. Data from U. S. Stat. Abstr. and Agricultural Yearbook. Estimates and design by J. M. Gillette, 1945.

The advantages of growing wheat are obvious. It yields ready cash after being harvested. It is easy to produce because production is by big machines. It requires short periods of work at seeding and harvesting time in order to get it to market. It is clean work. For North Dakota large acreage it is the logical and rational crop to grow since it gives a very large yield per farmer and requires little manpower. An enlarged wheat acreage, given available land and advanced mechanization is easy to realize.

NOTES

Edited By Paul H. Landis

FARM VETERANS IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST

In connection with a survey of veterans' adjustments made during October-December, 1945 by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U.S.D.A., certain data on file with local Selective Service Boards in two Idaho and two Washington counties were tabulated.¹ These tabulations show the extent to which the armed forces drew off the manpower from rural areas and reveal some of the characteristics of farm veterans which are related to their possible return to agriculture.

No claim is made that these counties represent the entire Pacific Northwest since each was originally selected to represent a stratum of major type-of-farming areas as part of a national study.² In 1940 rural-farm population comprised 22.5, 54.6, 33.8, and 25.1 per cent of the total population in the counties referred to here as A, B, C, and D, respectively. County A added a large military base but had little industrial expansion during the war years. B had neither military installations nor industrial expansion. Both A and B are distant from industrial centers. C is in an area which had extremely rapid development of war industries. D added military bases and was close to a new war plant which provided highly "essential" employment. These differences in wartime developments are reflected by the population trends. Changes in the total civilian population, between April 1, 1940 and November 1, 1943, as estimated by the Bureau of Census from ration book registrations, were as follows: A, -2.6 per

cent; B, -7.3 per cent; C, +98.3 per cent; and D, +44.1 per cent.

Without giving detailed statistics, the dominant farming patterns in the four counties may be characterized as follows: A—small family-operated dairy farms, considerable part-time farming; B—family-operated farms relying heavily on potatoes and sugar beets for income, highly seasonal demand for labor; C—dairying, poultry and diversified enterprises on family-operated farms, much part-time farming; D—large scale wheat farms and small, often part-time, truck farms. Farms with some hired farm labor ranged from 46 per cent in A to 67 per cent in B, as indicated by census reports on the number reporting expenditures for this purpose during 1939. However, most of the employment was of short duration. Farms reporting cash expenditures in 1939 for labor hired by the month were only 11.9, 18.7, 6.2 and 19.3 per cent, respectively, of the total in each county.

Losses to armed forces by age groups.—The armed forces made a heavy drain on the young manpower in all counties during World War II. Of the Selective Service Board registrants aged 18 through 25 at the time of the survey, from 71 to 84 per cent were or had been in service (Table I). Between 25 and 38 per cent of the registrants aged 26 through 44 were or had been in service. Information available for two of the counties indicates that most of the men in the group aged 26 and over were under 38. Thus, 44.7 and 59.4 per cent of the registrants aged 26 through 37 had been in service from counties A and B respectively as compared with 11.3 and 7.0 per cent of those aged 38 through 44.

Not all of these men were gone simultaneously. At the same time even these high percentages do not show the full extent of the loss of men to the armed forces. Men with a service record not registered with

¹ Data were made available through the cooperation of the respective State Selective Service headquarters and the local Selective Service Boards. Data for two of the counties were obtained by Michael R. Hanger, BAE.

² For description of the sampling procedure see Margaret Jarman Hagood and Eleanor H. Bernert "Component Indexes as a Basis for Stratification in Sampling", *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 40, pp. 330-341 (Sept. 1945).

local selective service boards at the time of the survey include National Guardsmen called into service before the first registration and not yet discharged, men who enlisted before the first registration or before or after the age of registration and not yet discharged, and reserve officers.

TABLE I. MEN SERVING IN WORLD WAR II AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL SELECTIVE SERVICE REGISTRANTS, BY AGE GROUPS.*

County	Age		Total 18-44† %
	18-25 %	26-44† %	
A, Board 1	76.2	25.2	37.8
A, Board 2‡	83.5	35.3	45.8
Total A	80.3	31.3	42.6
B	75.7	38.1	51.1
C, Board 1	71.1	26.6	41.6
C, Board 2‡	78.5	26.4	41.1
Total C	73.6	26.5	41.4
D	80.0	28.4	42.3

* Data from local Selective Service Board reports as of October 20, October 26, December 1, and December 12, 1945 for the 4 counties, respectively; age is as of these months.

† Men aged 45 and over with a service record are included.

‡ Board for exclusively urban areas. All other boards except No. 1, County A serve an area including one urban center in addition to the rural areas.

Registrants with a service record equaled about one-tenth of the 1940 total population in each county. The exact percentages were 9.8, 9.8, 11.2, and 10.6. Servicemen were equivalent to about one-third of the male working force aged 14 and over as reported for these counties by the 1940 U. S. Census, being 32.4, 34.9, 33.1, and 30.0 per cent, respectively. The future social, political, and economic effects of having had such a large percentage of the population, and especially of an age group, in the wartime armed forces offers opportunity for interesting speculation.

Losses by residence and occupation.—Rural areas in these sample counties will have fewer veterans than the urban to reabsorb into civilian life and agriculture will have fewer than non-agricultural occupations. This is because the data indicate the rural areas and agriculture tended to contribute relatively fewer men directly to the

armed forces, even though the drain was heavy on all segments.

Rural-urban comparisons are possible for two of the counties. For A, the rural Board (No. 1) had a smaller percentage of registrants in service than did the urban. This was true both for men 18-25 and those 26 and over (Table I). For county C the comparison is less clearcut because Board 1, in addition to the rural area, takes in a city with a population in 1940 of about 4,400 plus a large federal housing project which was built after Pearl Harbor. Although both C Boards contributed the same proportion of men aged 26-44, the more rural board had a smaller percentage of its younger registrants in service.

Servicemen with agriculture as the major pre-war occupation made up between 12 and 50 per cent of the total number from each of the "rural" Boards (Table II). The occupational classification in most cases was based upon the information given by the registrant in his Selective Service Questionnaire (D.S.S. Form 40). It is recognized that some men changed occupations between the time of filling out this questionnaire and the time of entering service but the changes were both into and out of agriculture.³ An additional group of men, many of them in high school, reported agriculture as their current secondary occupation. This last group made up between 5 and 10 per cent of all registrants in service (Table II).

For each of the four Boards included in Table II, the percentage of servicemen with agriculture as the major pre-war occupation was somewhat smaller than was the ratio of males employed in agriculture to all males 14 years of age and over in the labor force (1940 U. S. Census); the dif-

³ Registrants attending school but also living and working on a farm were the chief problem in classification. Such persons were classified as having agriculture as the major occupation if the questionnaire was filled during a school vacation period or as the secondary occupation if filled at other times except that in County B boys attending school but working on a farm were tabulated as having agriculture the major occupation.

ference was 12.8, 4.7, 17.2, and 1.8 per cent, respectively. Some of the difference is undoubtedly due to occupational shifts out of agriculture between 1940 and the time of entering service. Entrance of men into the armed forces directly from school without ever having been in the labor force also accounts for some of the difference in all counties but B.⁴

with agriculture as a major occupation were a larger percentage of the inducted than of the enlisted group. This was true for both the younger and the older age classes for all four "rural" boards. These differences between agriculture and other occupations in the contribution of men to war appear to be a direct effect of national policies in combination with distinctive social and eco-

TABLE II. SERVICEMEN WITH AGRICULTURE AS MAJOR OR SECONDARY PRE-WAR OCCUPATION AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL REGISTRANTS WITH SERVICE RECORD.¹

County ²	All Occupations	Agriculture Major		Agriculture Secondary	
	No.	No.	Per cent ³	No.	Per cent ³
A, Board 1	1,791	461	26.2	154	8.8
B ⁴	1,841	893	50.3	85	4.8
C, Board 1	3,338	401	12.6	318	10.0
D	666	153	23.6	46	7.1

¹ Based upon Selective Service Questionnaire D.S.S. Form 40 except where this form was not available, discharge papers or other records were used. Complete coverage of discharged men in all counties but C where 33 1/3 per cent sample taken. For men not discharged, a 20 per cent sample taken except for B and D where there was complete coverage on the enlisted group. The samples were stratified by age (18-25 and 26 and over) and service status (inducted and enlisted).

² The two boards for exclusively urban areas excluded because they had so few registrants with agricultural occupations.

³ Percentages based upon the total number with known occupations which was 1,759; 1,776; 3,187; and 647, respectively.

⁴ The two agricultural groups not strictly comparable with other counties because men who reported present occupation as school but also worked on a farm were tabulated in the group with agriculture as a "major" occupation.

Servicemen whose major occupation had been in agriculture were a smaller percentage of the number of male workers employed in agriculture in 1940 than were all servicemen as a percentage of all male workers in the labor force as of 1940. The comparative figures for the four non-urban boards are: A, 16.2 and 24.4; B, 27.6 and 34.9; C, 13.3 and 34.0; D, 27.2 and 30.0. The extremely large number of shifts out of full-time agriculture early in the war years and the heavy population increase since 1940 both help explain the great difference shown for C.⁵

It is of some interest to note that men

⁴ See note 3.

⁵ Servicemen with agriculture as the current secondary prewar occupation were 5.4, 2.6, 10.5, and 8.2 per cent, respectively, of the male workers employed in agriculture in 1940.

nomie characteristics of agricultural workers. Men producing food and fibre were encouraged to stay on the farm by deferment policies in effect a good part of the war period. Marriage at an earlier age, having families which are larger and at an earlier age, greater frequency of property ties, and more frequent intermingling of kinship ties with occupation are assumed to restrain men in agriculture from voluntarily entering military service as frequently as others.

Age, marital status, tenure status, and ties with relatives were tabulated for the servicemen whose major prewar occupation was agriculture.

Age of farm veterans.—Between half and two-thirds of the farm veterans were less than 26 years old (Table III). This is the age as of late in 1945, not the age at

entering service. In two counties (C and D) the farm veterans were a younger group than the non-farmers while in the other counties they were an older group.

In appraising the prospects that farm veterans will return to agriculture permanently upon discharge, it must be remembered that many farm boys entered service at or before the age they would normally have been expected to leave agriculture. The replacement rates in these counties is indicative of the pressure which is back of this normal migration from the farm. These rates for the 1940-50 decade for the rural-farm male population aged 25-69 are as follows: 134, 214, 116, and 156.⁶

TABLE III. AGE OF SERVICEMEN WITH AGRICULTURE AS MAJOR PREWAR OCCUPATION.

County	Total	18-25	26 and over
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
A, Board 1	100.0	63.1	36.9
B	100.0	64.9	35.1
C, Board 1	100.0	53.6	46.4
D	100.0	48.4	51.6

Martial status.—Although many more are now married and have families, the proportion of farm veterans classified for selective service purposes as married prior to

⁶Based upon Conrad Taeuber, *Replacement Rates for Rural-Farm Males Age 25-69 years, by Counties, 1940-50*, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, December, 1944.

entering service was only 11.9, 17.2, 7.5, and 12.4 per cent, respectively, in the four counties. Over 71 per cent of the farm veterans classed as married were in the older of the two age groups.

Martial and family status may well be factors influencing the decision of veterans to return to agriculture and the level at which they will be attracted. For example, the man who has married a non-farm girl may hesitate to go back to the farm. The veteran with a family may be reluctant to reenter at the hired farm laborer level.

Tenure status.—Wage hands and unpaid family laborers made up about three-fourths of the farm veterans in every county (Table IV). Operators accounted for most of the others. In nearly every case the operators were on small units that did not meet the minimum production requirements for deferment as an essential agricultural worker. Joint-owners were usually young, single men who had recently become the partner of a relative. In every county the men aged 18-25 were more heavily represented in the unpaid family laborer group and less heavily represented in the operator group than were the older men. In three counties the older men were represented more heavily in the hired labor group while in the fourth county both age groups were equally represented.

The unpaid family laborers may be expected to supply a large number of the farm veterans who will not reenter agriculture

TABLE IV. AGRICULTURAL STATUS HELD BY SERVICEMEN WITH AGRICULTURE AS MAJOR PREWAR OCCUPATION.

Status	County			
	A, Board 1	B	C, Board 1	D
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Owner	3.5	2.6	6.2	5.9
Joint-owner	6.3	7.3	8.0	9.8
Tenant	15.6	13.8	5.0	7.2
Wage hand	41.2	41.8	36.9	54.9
Unpaid family laborer	31.0	32.1	41.2	20.9
Not known	2.4	2.5	2.7	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

upon discharge if alternative job opportunities are available. The youth of this group, coupled with the normal migration pattern, is the basic reason for such a prospect. Lack of definitely fixed wages suggests that many of the men in this group were occupying a role which was occupationally transitional and—in the sense of having their labor productivity utilized full time—economically marginal.

Property ties and experience suggest a high rate of return on the part of veterans who owned some of the land they operated. This is despite the fact that generally the farms operated did not justify deferment. Tenants who disposed of their livestock and equipment may have difficulty in getting re-established soon as they would not likely have been drawn into service unless they were economically marginal operators. Scarcity of farms to buy or rent, shortages in farm equipment and the high price of both will be obstacles to getting a start again. If wage hands are able to follow through with their expressed intentions, relatively few will start off at the status they left.⁷ Difficulties in getting a start as a farm operator, coupled with favorable non-farm opportunities would create a situation which would be expected to draw many of the hired laborers away from agriculture.

Farming ties with relatives.—Present prospects within these counties are that the veteran who has relatives on a farm willing

to help him will have the best chance of being an owner or renter in the near future. The percentage of farm veterans who had been engaged in farming with close relatives (usually parents) was 52, 52, 58, and 38, respectively, in four counties. Nearly all the unpaid family laborers and joint owners had been working with relatives. The proportion of tenants operating a farm for a relative was 47 and 35 per cent in counties A and B (the number of tenant cases were too small in the other two counties to justify presenting a percentage). Wage hands in all counties were the groups with the smallest percentage working for relatives, 19, 26, 26, and 13 per cent, respectively. In all counties a larger proportion of the men aged 18-25 than of the older men had been farming with relatives.

Assuming that those who owned land still hold it and that those who were farming with relatives could return at least temporarily, from 44 to 64 per cent of the farm veterans have some direct link with agriculture which may be utilized, at least temporarily, upon discharge. The hired men, particularly those aged 26 and over, are the group most lacking in such ties to fall back on as they return to civilian life.

Discharged farm veterans.—Over half of the farm veterans had been discharged in the two counties surveyed last (December 1945). At that time there was no evidence of any unusual permanent return movement to or withdrawal from agriculture on the part of farm veterans. Older men have been discharged first. The men to be discharged later will at least have whatever advantage rests in more frequently having ties with relatives in agriculture.

Olaf F. Larson.

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⁷ Olaf F. Larson and Michael R. Hanger, *Some Postwar Rural Trends in the Pacific Northwest*, U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, February, 1946; Carl C. Taylor, "The Veteran in Agriculture", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, March 1945, pp. 48-55.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

*Edited by Conrad Taeuber**

**Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of
Commerce and Bureau of Agricultural
Economics, U. S. Department of
Agriculture, Series Census-BAE**

- No. 1 (January 14, 1945) Estimates of Farm Population and Farm Households: April, 1944, and April, 1940.
- No. 2 (April 9, 1945) Farm Population Changes in 1944.
- No. 3 (May 7, 1945) Farm Operators in the United States: April, 1944, and April, 1940.
- No. 4 (June 19, 1945) Net Movement Away From Farms in the United States, by Age and Sex: 1940 to 1944.
- No. 5 (July 2, 1945) Recent Changes in Farm Population.
- No. 6 (October 15, 1945) Off-Farm Work of Farm Operators and Members of Their Households: 1943.
- No. 7 (May 2, 1946) Farm Population Changes: April, 1940, to January, 1946.

**United States Department of Agriculture,
Bureau of Agricultural Economics**

**Farm Population Estimates, January, 1945.
Farm-Population Adjustments Following
the End of the War.**

The initiation of this series of reports represents the most significant improvement in the provision of information concerning the number and composition of the farm population since the publication of the first enumeration of farm population in 1920. The classic method of obtaining information concerning the number and characteristics of the population has been a "complete" census of enumeration. The expense and time required by this procedure have resulted in relatively long intervals between enumerations. So long as people were im-

mobile and the national government maintained a laissez faire attitude toward social and economic events the long interval between enumerations of the population was of no practical consequence since little immediate administrative use was made of the results.

However, as the parts of the national economy have become more closely interwoven and as the national government has expanded the scope of its activities, the necessity of more comprehensive information as a guide to effective administration has become increasingly apparent. Although complete census enumerations are just as essential today as ever before they cannot be counted on to provide current information. For this purpose a more inexpensive method by which data can be collected and prepared for use before it is outdated for administrative purposes is required. The utilization of modern principles and methods of sampling has to a considerable extent fulfilled this requirement.

The basic data for these releases were obtained from the 1940 Census and from sample enumerations conducted since that date. Additional information concerning the characteristics of the farm population not shown on the Population schedule was obtained by matching schedules from the 1940 Censuses of Population, Agriculture, and Housing for about 7,000 households in the 123 counties used in The Monthly Report on the Labor Force. The initial sample survey of about 4,000 farm households was conducted in April, 1944 and was designed to furnish detailed current information on farms, farm population, and farm employment. Regular sample enumerations have been conducted since that date.

These sample enumerations are part of the Monthly Report on the Labor Force which is a sample survey conducted each month to obtain current information on labor supply, employment, and other charac-

* Assisted by Elsie S. Manny and William H. Metzler.

teristics of the population. The sample comprises some 30,000 scientifically selected households in 68 areas each of which includes one or more of 123 counties located in 42 states and the District of Columbia. The April, 1944 study was supplemented by using data from 44 additional counties selected from the master sample of farms developed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in cooperation with the Iowa State College and the Bureau of the Census.

Although annual estimates of the farm population have been made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics since World War I, the estimates in this series of releases are the first which have been based upon controlled methods of sampling. The previous estimates were based upon voluntary mail returns from farm reporters; the representativeness of these reporters and of the areas for which they reported was unknown so that considerable uncertainty was attached to the results. Of course the fact that the current estimates are derived from enumerations in sample areas deliberately selected so as to represent correctly the entire nation does not ensure that the results are superior to those of earlier years. But since the procedure of collecting the data is subject to direct control it should be possible to modify it whenever experience shows this to be necessary in order to achieve results of a high degree of reliability.

In addition to the former series of annual estimates of farm population the current releases provide a series of quarterly estimates of the noninstitutional farm population classified by sex and broad age groups—under 14 years and 14 years and over—beginning with January, 1944. The fact that the size of the farm population fluctuates rather widely from one season to another is well known; the extent of this seasonal shift now is ascertainable for the first time. During the past two years there has been a variation of about 800,000 in the number of persons living on farms between the date of the smallest number, usually around the end of the last quarter of the year, and the

date of the largest number during the summer months.

The current series of releases emphasize the necessity of a clarification of the definition and concept of farm population. Two questions are involved; firstly, what is a farm, and secondly, should the decision as to whether a person is part of the farm population be based upon residence or upon occupation. In the past the farm population has included persons living on farms (usually outside of urban areas) with the decision as to whether a given tract of land was a farm being made by the several thousand enumerators engaged in taking the census.

If living on a farm makes a person a member of the farm population, then does living in a building used for a grocery store make a person a member of the storekeepers population or does living on mining property make one a member of the mining population? Forty years ago it was fairly safe to assume that persons living on farms were either farmers or belonged to farm families. This assumption has become increasingly less tenable during recent years.

In April, 1944, 30 per cent of the farm operators reported one or more days of nonfarm work during 1943 with 11.5 per cent reporting 250 or more days of nonfarm work. Surely the farming activities of the latter group are more of an avocation than of a vocation.

One of the most valuable features of the current procedure of sample surveys of the number and characteristics of the farm population is the opportunity of investigating a number of different ways of defining and describing the farm population. The people who live on farms are no longer a homogeneous occupational group. The time has come for the exploration of improved ways of classifying the population living in rural areas. An important first step has been made by the classification of farm operators in accordance with their principal occupation, the number of days worked off the farm, and the number engaged in nonfarm work.

A minor criticism is in order. These releases continue the evasive platitude found

in other releases of the Bureau of the Census illustrated by the following: "The estimates, being based on sample data, are subject to sampling variation, which may be large where the quantities shown are relatively small." No indication is given as to how small a quantity must be before the sampling variation becomes large. Presumably these estimates are published with the expectation that they will be of use to other agencies or persons. But without any indication of how large "large" is or how small "small" is, the bewildered reader must either accept the published estimates as correct to the last digit shown or reject them altogether. Surely the persons responsible for the collection and analysis of the data have some knowledge of the approximate range of sampling error of the estimates.

The release, "Farm Population Estimates, January, 1945" is a continuation of the estimates which have been prepared by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics since 1920 showing the movement to and from farms and from farm to farm based upon reports from cooperating farmers. The estimates have been adjusted to agree with the farm population of the entire country as estimated by the sample survey.

"Farm-Population Adjustments following the End of the War" is a summary of current field reports made by professionally trained observers in a sample of 71 counties. These reports are of value in furnishing background information for the interpretation of the numerical results obtained by the regular sample enumeration. As yet unanswered however, is the question of how many of the young men who were inducted into the armed forces from farms will permanently return to their homes.

HAROLD F. DORN.

U. S. Public Health Service.

Survey of Wages and Wage Rates in Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C. Reports Nos. 1-10, Issued May, 1945-June, 1946

No. 1. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in Special Crop Areas*

of Florida, February-March, 1945, by Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood.

No. 2. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in Maricopa County, Arizona and Imperial County, California, February-March, 1945, by Barbara B. Reagan and William H. Metzler.*

No. 3. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in Special Crop Areas of Louisiana, April-May, 1945, by Louis J. Ducoff and Gladys K. Bowles.*

No. 4. *Wages and Wage Rates of Hired Farm Workers, United States and Major Regions, March 1945, by Louis J. Ducoff and Margaret Jarman Hagood.*

No. 5. *Wages and Wage Rates of Farm Workers in the Citrus Harvest, Los Angeles Area, California, April-June, 1945, by William H. Metzler.*

No. 6. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in USDA Labor Supply Centers at Arvin, Linnell, and Shafter, California, June 1495, by William H. Metzler.*

No. 7. *Wages and Wage Rates of Hired Farm Workers, United States and Major Regions, May 1495, by Louis J. Ducoff and Barbara B. Regan.*

No. 8. *Wages and Wage Rates of Potato Harvest Workers on Long Island, New York, Week Ended September 1, 1495, by Catherine Senf.*

No. 9. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers at Selected USDA Labor Supply Centers in North Central California, August-October 1945, by William H. Metzler.*

No. 10. *Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in the Harvest of Selected Truck Crops, California, 1945, by William H. Metzler.*

The series which these studies introduce is notable. It represents a serious effort to bring to agricultural wage labor the protecting coverage of that statistical network which long ago the Department of Agriculture threw over wheat, cotton, hogs, potatoes, and the operators of farms.

During the early decades of its existence

the USDA expressed a limited interest in farm labor through occasional brief reports on the adequacy of the farm labor supply, county by county, from the point of view of farm operators. In 1901 the U. S. Industrial Commission published a report bearing the title "American Farm Labor," prepared at its instance by J. R. Dodge, Statistician of the USDA. This appears to be the first systematic official examination of agricultural laborers in their own right. During the following three decades a small number of special studies on farm labor appeared; an historical wage series of uncertain value, dating from 1866, was kept current; and a very undependable series of figures purporting to relate labor supply and demand by state or area, was published periodically beginning about World War I. But until the end of the 1920's or early 1930's the USDA evidently regarded it as unnecessary to assign any of its professionals to devote full attention to this element of the agricultural population comprising one-fourth of those making their living in agriculture.

In 1937 Secretary Wallace suggested a reorientation of Department interest when by specific statement he included "those who till the soil for hire as well as those who cultivate it as tenants or owners" among the people whose welfare the USDA is intended directly to further. Gradually, by establishment of camps for migratory laborers and construction of laborers' homes under Farm Security Administration, by administration of wage provisions of the Sugar Act, and by occasional labor surveys, the Department was beginning to give effect to this declared intention. The present series of reports constitutes an initial full-scale contribution from its statisticians toward the same purpose.

Reports already published in this series are of two types: (1) wages of harvest workers in special crops in particular localities, as disclosed by special studies in the field; (2) wages and wage rates, by region and type-of-farming area, as disclosed by national sample enumerations to be repeated periodically.

(1) Localities and crops in which to study

harvest workers have been chosen well to include migratory workers. The studies include strawberry, vegetable and citrus workers in Florida, potato harvesters on Long Island, strawberry pickers in Louisiana, lettuce harvesters in Arizona, and harvesters of crops in various parts of California.

The Florida report may be used as illustration of what these studies cover. For single selected weeks in February and March, 1945 information was obtained by sampling methods on wage rates and earnings of 2,000 seasonal workers. These included citrus pickers, strawberry pickers, and vegetable workers, respectively, in three localities.

In citrus a sample of 28 packing houses, stratified by volume of output, was taken from the total of 249 houses in the area. From the smaller houses the wage records of all pickers were taken; from the largest, the records of all pickers in the gangs of three foremen. From a list, supplied by the AAA, of 110 strawberry growers around Plant City, every fifth name was chosen, and wage data were obtained for every picker employed during the selected week of activity. In the vegetable area data for a week were obtained from every fifth (or tenth) family registered at six WFA Labor Supply Centers, and every second (or fourth) single worker.

Results present a clean-cut picture. Strawberry pickers averaged 32 cents per hour, vegetable workers 57 cents, and citrus pickers \$1.02. Berry pickers averaged 18 hours of work for the week on the farm reporting (males aged 18-44 averaged 27); white vegetable workers averaged 42 hours, and Negroes 34 (males aged 18-44 averaged 54 and 44 hours, respectively); citrus pickers averaged 31 hours (domestic, or local, whites averaged 36, Negroes 29, imported foreign workers 36, and prisoners of war 38 hours, respectively). Low earnings and hours of berry pickers may be accounted for in part by failure to include work during the week elsewhere than on the particular farm studied. Difference in earnings between white and Negro vegetable workers arose largely from difference in operations per-

formed, rather than from difference in rate received for performing the same operation.

Great variation in earnings is a recognized characteristic of migratory seasonal labor. The studies measure this to a degree. Strawberry pickers averaged only \$5.70 per week for work on the reporting farm; but this average conceals the significant fact also shown in the report, that males aged 18-44 averaged \$15, "other males" \$4.80, and females \$5.90. White vegetable workers averaged \$28 for the week, while males aged 18-44 earned \$38.90, and females \$19.50. Citrus pickers averaged \$31.70. Domestic white pickers as a group had top earnings, with \$36.50; imported foreign workers were next with \$34.90; then domestic Negroes with \$30.50; and at the bottom, prisoners of war with \$16.20.

These examples are in recognition of the importance of distribution of earnings to the extent of providing several averages, each based on the earnings of a significant group. Further light on distribution, which often is more significant than the average, was provided occasionally by grouping individuals into income classes. Thus, 27 per cent of citrus pickers earned less than \$20 a week, and nearly 27 per cent earned \$50 or more, when the average for all pickers was \$31.70.

Earnings of strawberry pickers are classified by age and sex. Males averaged 29 cents an hour and females 34 cents, a substantial differential in favor of female pickers. Pickers under ten years of age averaged 19 cents an hour, and those 45 and over averaged 46 cents.

At the WFA Labor Supply Centers, hourly earnings of white males aged 18-44 averaged (for all agricultural work performed) 72 cents, earnings of "other males" averaged 66 cents, and of females 60 cents. Among Negro workers these differentials were smaller; males aged 18-44 earned 57 cents, "other males" 53 cents, and females 53 cents.

The reports permitted investigators a good deal of flexibility from area to area; tabulation has not been made according to a master form applied rigidly everywhere.

Such adaptation to particular situations has much to commend it; and probably the reports show a sufficient uniformity to make possible most of the comparisons that will be found desirable.

It is to be hoped that this series of reports will grow to something like complete coverage of important areas, adding one bench mark after another in the manner of the Geological Survey covering the country with topographic maps. Their usefulness for many purposes will probably receive early demonstration, and continue to receive it over the years.

(2) A second type of report in this series, e.g., numbers 4 and 7, is based upon nationwide enumerative surveys designed to develop data on the wage and employment structure in agriculture, by region and by type-of-farming area. To date, the published studies cover wages and wage rates by regions, for selected weeks in March and May, 1945, with another report covering September to follow.

These enumerations are to be continued annually as part of BAE wage statistics work, and will yield data on many phases of agricultural labor. For example, the May, 1945, enumeration reveals that average cash farm wages rose from 35 to 37 cents per hour since March, and employment of wage laborers increased by 43 per cent. Hired workers averaged 4.1 per employing farm in the West, and only 1.4 in the North Central States. Fifty-three per cent of all wage workers were on the 125,000 farms which employed 4 or more. The number of seasonal workers (less than 6 months work expectation) reached 1,456,000 in May. Interesting classifications by age, sex, color, value of farm product sales, are included. Data are shown on length of the work-day, types of wages paid, relationship of worker to operator, and on other points.

This national enumeration will furnish basis for studies in future on value of prerequisites, on wage differentials among type-of-farming regions and among types of farms within these regions, and on wages in relation to type of work and sex of worker.

Report 4 includes an important appendix on the comparability of estimates based on this enumerative survey with other available statistics. The new enumeration will yield distribution of workers by wage rate, as well as the average, a great gain. The absence of data on annual earnings remains a serious gap.

Another result of the national enumeration will be improvement in the historical series on farm wage rates which, among other imperfections, have failed to cover price rates, which are prevalent in the Northeast and West.

The BAE is to be congratulated on its decision to support these substantial studies of agricultural labor, and those members of the staff responsible for their execution are to be commended for their skill and understanding. This is a promising beginning.

PAUL S. TAYLOR.

University of California.

Farm Labor

*Two years of farm wage stabilization in California*¹ is a report on the inception and operation of wartime farm wage controls in that State. California farmers were alarmed when wages continued to spiral after ceilings had been placed on the prices of their products. The farmers appealed to the War Food Administration to establish maximum piece rates on harvest operations in their crops. The first of these was instituted for the asparagus harvest in March, 1943 and was followed by specific ceiling rates for raisin grape, tomato, and cotton harvest operations in the same year. By the end of 1944 similar ceilings had been instituted for operations in approximately 20 different crops in the State employing some 200,000 harvest workers. These specific ceilings were supplemented by a general wage regulation issued by the War Food Administration which established 85 cents an hour as the maximum rate for farm jobs not covered by special ceilings.

¹ William H. Metzler. *Two years of farm wage stabilization in California*. 65 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Berkeley, Calif., Feb. 1946.

An outstanding feature of the program was the use of local committees of farmers and workers to pass on requests of growers to pay more than the ceiling rate. This device permitted growers with light yields or poor field conditions to obtain their share of the short labor supply. This was a very new type of public activity for farm workers and they did not function effectively in all communities. The method was usually quite successful, however, and farmers and workers gained in facility in working together on farm wage rate problems.

Rural Youth

The study, *Rural children and youth in Ohio*,² analyzes some situations and problems which affect rural youth. Data were obtained from the 1940 Census, vital statistics reports and Selective Service bulletins. Besides graphs and tables throughout the text, there are nine tables at the end of the report. Migration of young women to urban industry, while many young men were deferred for farm work, has resulted in a great excess of males over females on Ohio farms, particularly in the ages 18-30 years. This is one reason why the farm population has not shared in the decided rise in births since 1940. Many young people continue to live with their parents after marriage and frequently do not become heads of their own households until relatively late in life. The author concludes that there are powerful factors in the farm environment that discourage marriage on the part of youth. Birth rates per 1,000 rural young women were highest in the economically poorest areas of Ohio and were lowest in the better areas. Death rates in rural Ohio were lowest among children 5-14 years old, but rose progressively at each higher age level.

In 1940 less than half of all farm youths in any five-year age period had graduated from high school. Boys were more retarded in school than girls and all farm youths had

² A. R. Mangus, *Rural children and youth in Ohio*. Ohio State Univ. Mimeo. Bul. 185. 57 pp., Columbus, July 1945.

less formal schooling than did urban youths of comparable ages.

Selective Service rejection rates were higher among registrants whose occupation was in agriculture than in any other major occupational group. "The leading causes for rejection of young Selective Service registrants were in order of importance: mental illness, crippling defects, failure to meet minimum intelligence standards, defects of the heart and blood vessels, hernia, ear defects, eye defects, neurological defects and tuberculosis. These account for 78.5 per cent of all rejections of registrants 18-25 years old in the United States in February and March, 1944." The author concludes that these findings show a need for research into the health status of rural youth.

An analysis of *Occupational selection in rural communities*³ was the objective of a series of interviews in 1942 with 146 young men in some rural communities in South Carolina. All of them had been interviewed 5 years previously and had at that time given some information concerning their backgrounds, their vocational plans, their education, social participation, personal problems, and related matters. The interview in 1942 was a follow-up to determine the occupational status at that time. Approximately half the group in 1942 was then engaged in farming and the other half was not. No significant differences could be established between the groups in farm and nonfarm occupations, in relation to age of the individual, age of father, size of family, number of brothers, size of farm, number of cultivated acres, possessions score, rate of progress in school, study in vocational agriculture, membership in 4-H Clubs, church membership, participation in recreational activities, and the subject preferred for activity programs. Some differentials were found between the two groups with reference to whether or not the parents owned an automobile in 1936-37, the years of school

completed, the expressed occupational preferences and membership in the Future Farmers of America.

Rural Government

Governmental institutions in nine Vermont towns⁴ were analyzed for a 12-month period to determine local geographic sources of incomes and allocations of expenditures, mainly for the year 1939. Over 80 per cent of the tax base in these towns was made up of real estate, of which more than half was within village limits. The town now has complete control over a much larger share of the highway system in the poorer land classes than in the more favored areas where more control is shared with the State. Expenses for maintaining roads in the open country were greater than taxes assessed for that purpose. Village and rural areas each paid their proportionate share of school costs; in the better and the poorest land classes more money was raised for school purposes than was required for the education of children of residents, but in land class 3 the school tax assessment was insufficient. The proportion of rural families receiving relief ranged from 1 per cent of all families in land class 1 to 12 per cent in land class 4. The major demand for assistance, however, was from village families. In the village areas the institutions supply individual needs most liberally, and in the open country services decline from land class 1 to land class 4. Only in land class 1 does revenue collected exceed outlays, but for the towns as a whole incomes and expenditures were practically in balance.

Rural Trends

Missouri Research Bulletin No. 401 surveys *Some effects of the war on rural life in Missouri, 1939-1945*⁵ and some pressing

⁴ Robert M. Carter. *The development and financing of local governmental institutions in nine Vermont towns*. Vt. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bul. 529. 66 pp. Burlington, May 1946.

⁵ Gerard Schultz. *Some effects of the war on rural life in Missouri, 1939-45*. Mo Agr. Expt. Sta. Res. Bul. 401, 36 pp. Columbia, Apr. 1946.

³ Theo Lafayette Vaughan. *Occupational selection in rural communities*. 61 pp. Little Rock, Ark., 1945.

postwar problems. The review of wartime changes is summarized as follows: "On the whole, rural life was not seriously disrupted by the war. There were fewer people on farms and they worked harder. Rural organizations did not appear to suffer. There seems to have been some increase in local cooperative effort, chiefly by way of mutual aid. No social or cultural upheaval occurred. Rural Missouri 'took the war in stride,' so to speak. Perhaps the most profound effects have been registered in terms of changes in attitudes, outlook and habits of thinking. If so, more time will be required to observe accurately the nature of these changes."

Community Organization

*Rural-urban coordination*⁶ describes how cooperation may be secured between organizations in a rural community and its trading-center town. It explains the origin and functions of the Rural-Urban Coordinating Council of the City of Bellevue, Ohio, and the surrounding townships. Suggestions are given for setting up a similar program in other communities, including a constitution outline for its council. The author shows how the needs of most communities could be met through attainment of definite goals in the following fields: (1) protection, (2) public utility services, (3) complete government services, (4) educational advantages, (5) religious and charitable work, (6) economic conditions, (7) leisure-time program, (8) business and professional services, (9) health and sanitation, (10) social program, (11) cooperative services, and (12) community planning.

Miscellaneous

A second study⁷ of the relationship of farm women to cooperatives has been issued by Cornell University. The same sample of

544 farmers' wives from three selected areas in New York was used in both studies. The majority of the women interviewed were middle-aged wives in average size farm-owner households with considerable farm experience and whose schooling was sufficient for the building of a sound promotional program in cooperative principles. It was found that participation of the women in the operation of the cooperatives serving them was negligible. Participation through stockholding, purchasing and selling of products was carried out almost entirely by the husband. Although the women have little knowledge about the cooperatives serving them, few of them want further information. Their opinions about practices and principles of operation are intangible and they have few ideas of the fundamental advantages of cooperatives. They praise goods and services because of quality, price and convenience. The services emphasized most frequently are freezer lockers, sale of fresh fruit, household electric appliances, men's work clothing and equipment repair services. When a list of eight possible additional services was presented, only 48 per cent of the women checked one or more services as desired. These women emphasized clothing and dry goods, especially work clothes, freezer lockers and groceries.

The purpose of this study of *History of legislation and policy formation of the Central Valley project*⁸ is to trace the development of the guiding policies for the Central Valley project and the processes by which certain changes in policy were made by the Federal and State governments and by private groups connected with the project. The material presented has been drawn entirely from public records. The report traces water planning in California by Federal and State agencies from the Alexander investigation of 1873 to the adoption of the Central Valley project. Policy development since the

⁶ C. S. Hunsinger. *Rural-urban coordination*. 48 pp. Second Edition-Revised. Rural-Urban Coordinating Council. Flat Rock, Ohio, 1945.

⁷ W. A. Anderson. *Farm women and the services of a farmers' cooperative*. Cornell Univ. Agr.-Expt. Sta. Mimeo. Bul. 17. 34 pp. Ithaca, Nov. 1945.

⁸ Mary Montgomery and Marion Clawson. *History of legislation and policy formation of the Central Valley project*. 276 pp. Bur. of Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Berkeley, Calif. Mar. 1946.

approval of the project as a Bureau of Reclamation project in 1935, comprises the latter half of the report. Special attention is given to the Federal policies with respect to the excess land provisions of the United States Reclamation Law, the right over the control and distribution of project power, and problems of repayment of the Federal investment.

Changes brought about in *Red Wing churches during the war*⁹ are described in a study of the 10 major church bodies and the six minor groups located in Red Wing, Minnesota. Through surveys and questionnaires obtained in 1942 and 1945, the following changes were noted: (1) growth in membership, (2) increase in finances, (3) support of war-related projects such as the Red Cross, (4) emphasis on personal ministry to bereaved and troubled families. Although the ministers reported servicemen were more interested in religion than before entering the armed forces, there was a general lack of plans with reference to the returning veteran. Sectarianism and inter-church cooperation were little affected by the war, with Christian unity apparently as remote as ever. The fact that there are few representatives of minority groups in Red Wing may account for the absence of feelings of intolerance toward them. The author concludes that "the war has affected but little the even tenor of the ways of Red Wing churches."

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- Blanco, Ana Teresa. *Nutrition studies in Puerto Rico*. 96 pp. Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras. 1946.
- ⁹Lowry Nelson. *Red Wing churches during the war*. 21 pp. The Community Basis for Postwar Planning. Number 7. The University of Minnesota Press. Minneapolis, Mar. 1946.
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- Tharp, Max M. and Turner, Howard A. *Graphic summarization of farm tenure*. Based on 1940 Census. 28 pp. Bur. Agr. Econ., U. S. Dept. Agr., Washington, D. C. Apr., 1946.

- U. S. Dept. Agr. *What peace can mean to American farmers; Agricultural policy.* 41 pp. Misc. Pub. 589, Washington, D. C. 1945.
- U. S. Dept. Agr. Bur. Agr. Econ. *National survey of liquid asset holdings, spending, and saving.* Part I—Major Findings. 35 pp. A survey conducted for the Federal Research Board, Washington, D. C. June, 1946.
- U. S. Dept. Agr. Ext. Serv. Summary of conference, rural church leaders and representatives of agencies of U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C. March 12-13, 1946. 9 pp. Washington, D. C. 1946.
- U. S. Dept. Agr. Interbureau Committee on Postwar Programs in cooperation with The Land-Grant Colleges. *Peacetime adjustments in farming.* 52 pp. Misc. Pub. 595. Washington, D. C. Dec., 1945.
- War Relocation Authority. *Annotated bibliography of the community analysis section.* Part IV—Community Analysis Reports from Granada, Minidoka and Manzanar Relocation Centers. Report No. 17, 47 pp. Part V—Community Analysis Reports from Colorado River and Tule Lake Centers. Report No. 18, 27 pp. Washington, D. C. 1946.

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited By Howard W. Beers

All These People. By Rupert B. Vance.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1946. Pp. 503. \$5.00.

This latest product out of Chapel Hill by Vance is a magnificent volume. It continues a series of encyclopedic cultural-statistical studies of the South and its place in the Nation. *Human Geography of the South* and *Southern Regions of the United States*, two other outstanding volumes in the series, along with this volume comprise a trilogy, each complementing the other. The first revolves around the southern environment and its impact on human culture and welfare; the second differentiates the cultural regions of the South and shows the place of the South in the Nation; the third, as the title suggests, revolves around the people and the social problems created by population dynamics and imbalance.

All These People has been in preparation for seven years. After it was completed, war time printing difficulties held up final publication for several months. Its release comes at a strategic time—the beginning of a post-war era of accelerated social change and ideological confusion. Those students and leaders who would understand and guide social change during the next generation will do well to ponder the facts of this book, but particularly the ideological frame of reference into which its author has fitted the facts.

This work is not just another book about the South. Its sub-title suggests a broader approach: *The Nation's Human Resources in the South*. Indeed the fundamental social problems discussed therein are national and international in scope. It "is a book about the nation in which we discuss the nation's human resources in the region we know best." (Foreword) As such it is indispensable in any thoroughgoing study of population trends in the nation as a whole. The materials, tables and charts, show condi-

tions and trends for the entire nation and for its major regions and for its states.

This volume is divided into five major parts and thirty-two chapters. The scope and character of the study is indicated by the subject titles of the major parts: *Dynamics of Population*, *Population and the Agrarian Economy*, *Population and the Industrial Economy*, *Cultural Adequacy of the People*, *Social Policy and Regional-National Planning*.

At the very beginning of part I, Vance presents a clear statement of his social philosophy of population study. Population facts must be interpreted against a background of social values. National survival is the most basic of all social values. After survival, people are concerned with higher standards of living. Excessive birth rates threaten high standards of living and a declining birth rate threatens national survival. The problem then is: How can a balanced population be achieved for the Nation and for the South?

The situation of the South in the population picture is well-known, but Doctor Vance brings in much new evidence and reveals many hidden relationships and factors. The fertility pattern of the southern population is exhaustively analyzed. Comparisons with other regions are given. High fertility has led constantly to a heavy out-migration of southern people. But migration has not been sufficient to ease the pressure of population on the poor land areas of the South. Under the impact of urbanization, industrialization, and rising standards, southern rural people are lowering their birth rate. The time is not far distant when the rural South cannot provide the surplus population needed in the deficit industrial-metropolitan areas. How these major trends are related to land tenure, cropping systems, farm mechanization, rural industry, race relations, health, education, and social planning comprise the major part of the book.

The principal conclusion of this book is that a regional-national population policy must be formulated. Although social policy-making is an art carried on mostly by politicians, Doctor Vance believes that social research has a very important contribution to make. Given certain basic social values, the sociologist can provide the facts and the blue prints for achieving the highest and best expression of those values. Policy makers have confidence in the conclusions and recommendations of a social scientist who has painstakingly analyzed the facts and arrived at a set of unbiased recommendations.

One of the major policies for easing population pressure in the South appears to be a program of education, health, and better living which will reduce excessive rural birth rates in the South to a level which will maintain the population of the region. The South, Doctor Vance concludes, should not be expected to produce the surplus population for the remainder of the Nation. Yet he sees the danger in a superficial, undirected birth control program. Along with the freedom and knowledge to limit births must go a new set of social values "based on family affection, national survival, and economic security." This implies that an urban environment must be created which will encourage the growth of normal sustaining families.

In his final chapter Vance speaks to the Nation. Sectionalism is narrow and destructive. We are one Nation and the South's problems are national problems. There is no one simple program which will bring the South up with the rest of the Nation. A balanced program is needed. National programs, such as social security, must be expanded to meet needs of southern agricultural groups. Human resources must be developed along with natural resources. Industrialization of the South should be promoted on the basis of fair wages, good living conditions, and sound planning. Or to put it in a nutshell, "the South wants to share in the Nation's future."

This book will find wide use as a text in population problems and as a source book

for courses in rural sociology and agricultural economics. It will also be used widely for general reading in all social science courses and as a guide to the effective use of population data in social research. It sets a high standard of solid restrained scholarship which has rarely been equalled in American social science.

C. HORACE HAMILTON.

Commission on Hospital Care, Chicago.

In Search of the Regional Balance of America. By Howard W. Odum and Katharine Jocher. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. 162. \$3.00.

This volume reviews the first quarter century of the work of the Institute for Research in the Social Sciences and of *Social Forces* as a part of the sesquicentennial celebration of the University of North Carolina. Contributors to the volume, other than Odum and Jocher, include Rupert B. Vance, William Fielding Ogburn, Charles S. Johnson, Edith Webb Williams, Edgar T. Thompson, T. J. Woofter, Ruth Landes, T. Lynn Smith, C. Hermann Pritchett, Elizabeth Green and Craighill Handy. Nevertheless, a proper review requires discussion of the life work of Odum, an analysis of his theories of regionalism and a few remarks concerning the present psychology of the South. All the other writings are merely incidental to the creative work by Odum, who since 1905 has steadily evolved the Institute, *Social Forces*, and this self-appraised by the South. No center or group has assumed literary and critical leadership in the South since the "Greek Democracy School" of the pre-Civil War days of Charleston as has this school founded by Odum.

If on the basis of this report, Odum and his work be compared with contemporary sociologists and theirs, the balance all belongs to Odum. Few are the contemporary sociologists who saw in their youth what they wanted to do; who spent years in working toward a creative goal; or who, after their maturity, can look back at such a

worthwhile social goal achieved. They blossom early and then seed into "method"; they write a "brilliant" thesis and then become bureaucrats; or if they continue to write, their vulgarization and resimplification of "concepts" would make the shade of Aristotle writhe in his Hellenic hades. Not so with Odum. Starting fifteen years before empiricism became the dominant method of sociology, he began the spot studies which were to culminate in the Institute. And in the present period when statisticians themselves do not understand what they are measuring, or if they are measuring anything, this Institute continues in its first-approximation really creative social science research.

All these things must be said for Odum because he deserves them; and about him in the hopes that a few other creative minds might develop in the sociology of tomorrow.

When we look at Odum's conception of the region we find that he has come to accept the idea that cultural groups of this type are "realistic" instead of nominalistic organisms and that regions may differentiate themselves according to the amount of cultural realism they possess. His laboratory, the South, is "the region where the greatest reality abounds". However, neither here nor elsewhere does Odum give us a clear-cut analysis of the geophysical and social elements which eventually lead to a realistic regionalism of peoples. Part of this is due to the fact that he has concentrated almost solely upon one region and has inevitably used many of the particularizing methods of history instead of the comparative analysis essential for a discovery of the generic and variable forces in such a regional personality development. Other possible reasons are his unconscious participation in the ethnocentrism of the South and the fact that the other regions of the United States are at present integrated much more mechanically than sociopsychologically as is the South. And since Odum has not explored the realism of the South as a region more fully, it is possible that further work will lead to a more critical (in the sense of discerning type-traits)

analysis of the personality of the South.

To a considerable extent, the post-reconstruction South has returned to the arrogance of the Greek Democracy days of the Charlestonian dominated fifties. Odum and his group, while they are the most critical of Southerners (and here critical means telling unpleasant truths) have contributed in part to this new arrogance. They have done this unconsciously through their failure to carry their type-trait regional analysis to its ultimate end. Their collections of "facts" (either pleasant or unpleasant) can be the basis of a developing provincialism, ethnocentrism or arrogance, on the one hand, or of a sound typological understanding on the other. There are millions of forward-looking and well-intended people in every section of the South, in spite of its apparent domination by the Claghorn type persons. But they must have back of their strivings for leadership common intellectual convictions based upon a clear and sound self-analysis of the South. The failure to read this position is the basic criticism of Odum's Institute; and the doing of it is its next necessary step.

Yes, the South needs Federal aid for "all these people." But more than that, and complementing it, is the need by the rest of the country for aid from the South. To illustrate, the South needs a new cotton, new animal types for milk and beef, a new health program and a new diet. But the nation needs a decent enforcement of the race laws, some Christian humility among the poor-whites and their leaders, and a willingness of the Southern states to hire, intellectually support and use the best available pathologists, chemists, plant and animal breeders and other scientists trained largely at Federal expense in Northern universities.

In other words, the South needs the "North" and the rest of the nation needs the South. Mutual "aid" is essential for the welfare of both. Such a necessary interchange requires humility, instead of arrogance, from the South. Cotton is not one of God's Pallas Athene daughters, to be fondled

only with the consent of arrogant Claghorn-Zeuses.

These few remarks "in search of the regional balance in America" are intended, on the one hand, to pay tribute to a great thinker and leader, and, on the other, to point out some of the Southern barriers to such a regional balance.

CARLE C. ZIMMERMAN.

Harvard University.

Nationalities and National Minorities. By Oscar I. Janowsky. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1945. Pp. xix + 232. \$2.75.

The conflicts of national minorities in east central and southeast Europe remain among the pressing problems of the peace. Professor Janowsky, writing on the basis of league Secretariat studies and direct observation, seeks his solution by analyzing the constitutional structure in areas where minorities exist, but conflict is minimal. National federalism in Switzerland, where the French- and Italian-speaking minorities total 26.4 per cent of the population, the bi-lingual Boer-English Dominion of South Africa, and the "multi-national state" of the Soviet Union, are the three case studies. The main emphasis is on the Soviet nationality situation.

The Swiss and South African cases demonstrate that the apparatus can be adjusted to provide the minority with cultural and lingual independence, and some degree of political expression, without disintegrating a small state. The Russian minority situation is immensely more diverse, and has closer resemblance to that of the "multi-national economic region" of eastern Europe. Professor Janowsky finds that the racial and nationality conflicts which characterized the Czarist regime in Russia have disappeared, and differences have been reconciled through the establishment of the Soviet "multi-national state." There is no sharp differentiation of function such as would be implied by the term federalism, the central government may veto measures taken by the national republics, and minorities are

not free to depart from the communist ideology. The Council of Nationalities has never voted differently from the the Council of the Union, or second house of the bicameral Supreme Council. At the same time, according to Professor Janowsky, there has been attitude for local self-government by native populations, widespread propaganda to promote mutual self-respect, and stern suppression of racial discrimination. Freedom of minorities has been exercised culturally and through the use of the vernacular so that by 1935 elementary schools were conducted in 80 different vernacular languages, of which Russian was one. Aid from the advanced areas has developed the more backward, and greatly reduced the economic discrepancies among nationalities.

While recognizing these important developments in the solution of the Soviet minority problem, Professor Janowsky shows no particular enthusiasm for the political framework within which they have been achieved. He speaks of the "disabilities incident to dictatorship" and the "steel ring of the Communist Party", although he comes to the conclusion that "it is difficult to believe that repression and propaganda could alone produce the broad base of contentment which seems to prevail."

The empirical approach used by Professor Janowsky leads to a principle called "national federalism" for application to eastern and central Europe. It combines features from the examples studied in the book. The synthesis is a regional confederation for economic purposes, with the state-members of the confederation organized into multi-national units. For example, Yugoslavia would be one member of a regional confederation in the Balkans, and its own constituent national territories, Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, and others, would have full equality, cultural autonomy, and local self-government within Yugoslavia. It is difficult to see how these proposals, amounting to a new constitutional design for areas of nationality conflict, can be discussed in a meaningful way without referenc to the political and eco-

economic aspects of the minority problems. The demonstration that, under given conditions, national minorities are not in conflict, does not dispose of the hard political and economic facts of eastern and south central Europe. Like the Bombay Plan for the economic development of India, Professor Janowsky's plan may be considered a blue-print for the future, but it provides no hint of an answer to the question: Who is going to do it?

DAVID R. JENKINS.

U. S. Treasury Department.

Freedom Under Planning. By Barbara Wootton. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1945. Pp. vii + 180. \$2.00.

This book was written by an Englishwoman and printed in 1944 when restrictions to initiative and individual behavior in Britain were at an all time high. Although not stated as such, it soon becomes obvious to the reader that the writer is trying to show that the initiation of wartime restrictions does not necessarily mean the destruction of the basic freedoms discussed in the book, namely, civil, cultural, political, and economic. It is also obvious that the author is trying to refute the ideas advanced by other writers that planning and control will lead to serfdom.

Freedom is defined very broadly as "ability to do what you want" (page 4), or "... to do what I want and not what anybody else wants me to want," (page 5). Defined elsewhere it is described as "the conscious and deliberate choice of economic priorities by some public authority."

The defense of the whole case presented by the writer is based upon the assumption that, "by conscious collective decision of economic priorities our frustrations are diminished and our freedoms enlarged: that we have more opportunity to do what we want to do. This in turn implies (1) that objectives exist which can properly be described as 'for the benefit of all,' (2) that these objectives can be ascertained with reasonable accuracy, and (3) that the men

and women on whom lies the duty of making decisions 'for the benefit of all on behalf of all' will in fact continuously pursue these objectives."

A second assumption which the writer makes is that individual plans, regardless of intention, do not always result in an intelligently integrated program. Hence, the necessity of some centralized body which has the power to coordinate.

The general conclusion reached by the author after presenting each of the topics is that the planned economy by governmental authorities need not necessarily mean the elimination of freedom to individuals. The author realizes that in any society many persons will spend much energy resisting the efforts of any central governmental body which attempts to restrict individual behavior.

The problems are discussed in terms of traditional English procedure and find comparison in wartime restrictions or by contrast to how Russia speaks, thinks, and acts in similar circumstances.

This tendency to interpret Communist Russia seems to the reviewer to be a chief weakness of the book. It is very obvious that the writer is not in sympathy with Russia, that she harbors fears based upon what happened long ago, and has limited understanding or appreciation of Russian motives or values.

Throughout the book the writer presents a number of significant principles in relation to topics that are considered. For example, in Chapter II, page 26, the author, after discussing the role and techniques of voluntary societies in contrast to compulsory societies, suggests that "voluntary societies can and should commit themselves to specific cultural ends: compulsory societies should not." This principle illustrates in the mind of the author a safety valve which would do two things, first, provide opportunities for divergent groups to continually develop and present new standards and, second, avoid compulsion and restriction that may come if questionable virtues are promoted by organizations that have the power to coerce. One of the obvious

limitations of the book is the failure of the author to realize that much of the stability of the society of which she is a part is based upon the ability of the government to enforce uniform behavior in honesty, traffic, morality, and many other culture patterns.

R. W. ROSKELLEY.

State College of Washington.

Adolescence and Youth. By Paul H. Landis. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1945. Pp. xiii + 470. \$3.75.

This is one of the best books which has been published in the youth field. Many youth publications have attempted to isolate particular items, such as employment, recreation, and other problems, for analysis. This study presents a theoretical frame of reference of physical and social maturation within which youth problems develop, followed by a description of particular problem situations. An excellent use has been made of student autobiographies.

The following chapter titles of Part I—Biology, Social Structure, and Personality—indicate the realistic way in which biological and social development have been well blended with personality formation: Period, Problem and Approach; Physical Fact and Social Meaning; Forces in the Social Structure Creating the Adolescent-youth Problem; Personality—Its Organic Foundations and Social Roots; Experience World and Personality Formation; and Personality Stress in Adolescent-youth Social Relations. The author stresses that adolescent problems are the results of cultural determination upon biological development.

In Part II, Attaining Moral Maturity, it is shown that the child is immune to many restrictions placed on adults, while adolescents and youth are harnessed with these restrictions and obligations. The problem is that the youth of today has faced more moral alternatives by the time he is twenty years of age than his grandparents faced in a lifetime. Yet with all of this added social complexity, no plan has been developed whereby society systematically assists

young people in their development and adjustment problems.

Part III, The Transition to Marital Adulthood, is introduced with this statement, "In a society in many parts of which one in three or four adolescents and youth are from homes broken by divorce or death and where many more are psychologically disorganized by conflict and dissension, adolescents are ill prepared for the momentous decisions our society forces upon them in the sphere of moral-sexual choices, mate selection, and marriage."

There is a section on the Struggle for Economic Adulthood, one of the most critical youth problems in our society. In the last section, the author defines an expanding role for the school in meeting adolescent-youth problems. The final chapter outlines the need for programs to assist young people in educational, economic, and marital adjustment.

With such an excellent analysis of the problems of adolescence and youth, one might expect something more unusual in the final recommendations, but these are not a great deal different from those made in other studies. There is a definite need to get beyond outlining merely what should be done into the "how" of doing it. These questions need to be answered. Should a youth program be similar to NYA in which the political philosophy was that of the Federal Government doing something for young people? Should the role of government be merely the job of giving additional money to the States for dealing with their own youth problems? Or should State and Federal governments give specialized assistance to counties and communities to assist them in meeting the local situations? With the tremendous variation in youth problems between not only city and country, but between good farming areas and subsistence regions, or small cities and the slums of large urban centers, it seems logical that there must be a large amount of local planning.

There is urgent need for coordinating the efforts of the dozens of organizations and government agencies which are dealing

with youth. Can county and city youth councils accomplish such a difficult task? No one has the responsibility for assisting young people in meeting their adjustment problems. There still are few guidance programs. Millions of rural young people are still sadly exploited in their initial adjustments to urban living. School people are determined that there will not be another Federal youth agency like NYA, but that such programs should be administered through educational channels. Yet, are the schools ready with either viewpoint or adequately prepared personnel to take over a broad youth program?

These are the kinds of practical problems for which answers are necessary. The author of *Adolescence and Youth* has admirably outlined the problem. Now the "how" of solution is urgently needed.

CHRISTOPHER SOWER.

Extension Service,
U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Twentieth Century Sociology. By Georges Gurvitch and Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Philosophical Library. 1945. Pp. 754. \$6.00.

It is embarrassing to have to observe that this book sets what is probably a new record of typographical error. One wonders whether even the galley sheets were ever corrected. There are few pages without mistakes, most of which are merely irritating but some of which are so serious as to falsify contexts.

This is especially tragic because the work is a competent symposium setting important benchmarks in contemporary sociology. With adequate coverage, both classical and more recent sociological theories are laid out critically. There are 25 chapters by 28 contributors. Part I examines 16 fields of sociology; Part II reviews the history and status of sociology in seven separate nations, then in Latin America and Eastern Europe. But for omission of the Orient, the book has global scope. Following each chapter there is a short biographical identi-

fication of the contributor and a brief bibliography.

For shortness of space, this review can merely suggest and not criticize the contents of such an inclusive volume. Cairns proposes a philosophy of the social sciences to match the philosophy of science. Burgess examines the case study and statistical study as the main research methods in sociology. Parsons identifies the emergence of a distinctive structural-functional theory of social systems. Becker throws in a jocular and intermittently erudite insistence upon interpretive sociology and constructive typology. Sorokin contributes a one-chapter brief of his theory of socio-cultural causality, and the next chapter abridges MacIver's book on *Social Causation*. Logan Wilson inventories sociological studies of the group. Florian Znaniecki defines social organization as a "dynamic system of human actions" discernable in groups and institutions. Woodard reviews the several unilateral social psychologies, argues for an integral, encyclopedic theory, but doesn't propose the theory.

Reviewing and rejecting previous conceptions, Gurvitch re-defines social control as a branch of sociological theory. Pound, Merton and Wach have chapters on the sociologies of law, knowledge, and religion, respectively. Jerome Hall submits a castigation of "positivist" criminology and demands the formulation of sound theory. Moore presents a condensed statement of the subject matter of economics, and develops an important (and overdue in American thought) sociological counterpart, the sociology of economic organization. Llewellyn and Hawthorn conclude the inventory of the fields of sociology by assessing the American "School of Human Ecology" as a mixture of bad and good theory, a fecund source of empirical studies, but greatly in need of "making peace with culture".

French sociology, from Comte, through Durkheim to Mauss and Halbwachs, is depicted by Levi-Strauss as currently straining to overcome the gap between its overbold theory and its too tentative empiricism.

The empirical prolificacy and scarceness of theory in American sociology is recorded by Faris (fils), who predicts "a trend away from individual system-building efforts and toward teamwork among researchers." The retarded maturation of British sociology is reported by Rumney. Salomon interprets German sociology chiefly through critiques of the Masters, -Toennies, Weber, and Simmel. Bastide says that Latin American sociology is noteworthy because "the Latin American present clarifies the European past", presenting opportunities to study and interpret a re-enactment of the phylogeny of European cultures. Italian sociology is shown by Panunzio to be "still primarily dwelling in philosophies, on long-term processes, and on society-as-a-whole speculations and deductions." Spanish sociology, according to Mendizabal, was just a-borning after World War I. In Russia, Laserson writes, "the sociological schools were mostly motivated by the political unfolding of their problems." Eileen Znaniecki and Manoil review Polish and Rumanian sociology, and Roucek describes sociology in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

Some of the chapters deserve as much attention as is given here to the whole volume. The book is new grist for seminars, and every sociologist who is active in professional self-improvement will wish to read it.

HOWARD W. BEERS.

University of Kentucky.

Central-Eastern Europe. By Joseph S. Roucek. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1946. Pp. 677. \$5.00.

This book lies primarily in the field of political science and gives important background material about a predominantly rural region of which all Americans, including sociologists, are becoming increasingly conscious. Fifteen countries, stretching from the Baltic to the Aegean, comprise the crucible of political unrest. Each country is treated separately by different writers and with different results. Dr. Hans Kohn's masterly treatment of Austria-Hungary and of Russia (up to 1918) contrasts with

Kimon A. Doukas' description of Greece in which a pro-Greek, anti-Bulgarian bias is only too evident. The Greek point of view on the role of the schismatic Bulgarian church is cited without any mention being made of attempts at Hellenization by Greek clergy among the Bulgarians during the days of Turkish political domination. Dr. Roucek, who has written 12 of the 32 chapters, had done an out-standing job on Czechoslovakia, writes more sketchily yet understandingly on four Balkan countries, but is definitely unsympathetic in his treatment of Hungary (1918-1945).

One of the best summaries written to date on recent political developments in the region as a whole is contained in a survey chapter by E. C. Helmreich. The tone of the book is definitely pro-Slavic not only in the frequent attempts to explain Russian deeds which have been criticized in the West but also in the emphasis placed upon the development of Slavic "culture", especially discussed in the chapters on Poland and Russia. A greater appreciation of such accomplishments would help the Westerner understand the Slavic "definition of the situation" as he watches one crisis after another develop.

Another survey chapter on Economic Problems of Central-Eastern Europe (by Dr. Ernest Sturc) focuses upon overpopulation as the most pressing problem and suggests industrialization and diversified farming as the solution. This is in line with current economic thinking for this region where lack of capital and shortage of skilled labor results in serious malutilization of natural and human resources. Dr. Sturc, however, fails to point out that present political leaders throughout the area are less interested in reducing the population to any "optimum" than they are in the military strength inherent in growing numbers, and like leaders in other parts of the world view industrialization as a means toward military security. There is thus a clash between what one might term theoretically sound economic planning and political expediency. This has been borne out often in this area by the experience of UNRRA, an

organization which strangely enough receives no mention in this chapter.

The book, although primarily political in character, does provide the general reader with information about ethnic origins (the Lithuanians speak the purest Sanskrit extant), social development (The Church in Finland did not permit people to marry if they could not read), racial and national tensions (Pan-Slavism is put to the test) over and over again as Slavs quarrel among themselves (Russians-Poles, Serbs-Bulgari), land reforms (these are now being carried on with considerable thoroughness throughout the area), peasant uprisings (usually capitalized upon by smart city politicians to the detriment of the peasants), and class systems (presently in a state of great upheaval).

In conclusion, the chief contribution which Dr. Roucek and his associates have made is not in re-interpreting history or adding materially to the content of the social sciences; they have rather put into one book a wealth of information about a highly significant region with which any world citizen would want at least a modicum of familiarity.

IRWIN T. SANDERS.

University of Kentucky.

Jobs and Markets. By Melvin G. deChazeau, Albert G. Hart, Gardiner C. Means, Howard B. Myers, Herbert Stein, Theodore O. Yntema. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1946. Pp. 143. \$1.60.

This book is another in a series published under the auspices of the Committee for Economic Development. It is primarily concerned with an analysis of how to prevent inflation and depression during the transition from a wartime to peacetime economy and is written for "anyone who cares about the prospects for his job or his business and anyone who cares about what his money will buy".

A striking feature of the book is its positive attack upon the immediate problems facing the economy during the transition. Though this kind of material often is heavy

reading, this book is clearly and directly written. To most readers, little doubt will remain when the book is finished that the authors have carefully prepared a well-rounded and positive program of "general strategy for the transition".

The three main objectives of the program proposed by these authors for the transition period are: 1) "to expand rapidly to a high level of production and employment; 2) to prevent a major rise in the general level of prices and 3) to eliminate price control as soon as it ceases to be indispensable for the achievement of high employment and stable prices." The program they propose to meet these objectives is centered around continuation of a modified price control program until mid-1947 (rents longer) and the adoption and use by the government of strong and flexible fiscal and monetary policies designed to stabilize aggregate demand at a high level.

In their streamlined price control program the authors recommend an average level of profits similar to what would be earned in a period of sustained prosperity, limitations on extremely high profits, the establishment of minimum levels of profits for individual industries and a somewhat lower minimum level of profits for an individual firm in an industry. Such "sheltering" of industry they believe would lead to high employment and a high level of production. Specific recommendations are also made as to the kind of a price control program needed—one that is quick-acting and with less restrictive standards than the past program.

As to fiscal and monetary policy most emphasis is placed upon the need for a system of taxes of built-in-flexibility (mainly the individual and corporate income tax) and for a monetary system that can contract and expand the supply of money as a means of stabilizing aggregate demand. Raising of reserve requirements of commercial banks, but allowing government bonds to count as required reserves, and the supporting of the government bond market by the Federal Reserve at slightly below par are features of their proposed monetary program that would be designed

to reduce credit expansion when necessary. Congressional and administrative action would be required to make possible certain features of the above program. Attention is also called to the importance of having this program ready for action when needed which means preparation in advance of need. Another short-run adjustment considered as an influence upon demand is the use of public works projects that can be "quickly started and quickly stopped".

An important feature of the report is the attention given to who should do what and when. Taken as a whole the report furnishes a constructive program for the transition that merits much consideration.

AUBREY J. BROWN.

University of Kentucky.

The Effect of the Central Valley Project on the Agricultural and Industrial Economy and on the Social Character of California: A Report on Problem 24, Central Valley Project Studies. Berkeley, California: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1945. Pp xxii + 241.

"The Central Valley Project is a complex system of water works and power facilities designed to fulfill a number of purposes, chief of which are to furnish irrigation waters to areas now having none or a deficient supply, the development of hydroelectric power, the prevention of floods, the improvement of navigation, and the repulsion of saline waters. It was voted by the people of the State in 1933 but is being built for the people of California and the Nation by the Federal government under the Bureau of Reclamation."

About twelve million acres of land are now under irrigation in the Central Valley and it is estimated that the Project will increase this amount by about twenty per cent as well as furnish additional water supply to areas now being irrigated by insufficient water.

This report, prepared by a committee from

the regional office of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture at Berkeley, is preliminary in character. It concludes that "The Central Valley Project will exert a strong influence upon the established agricultural economy, rural life, and industrial economy of the Valley; but it will be only an influence, not a complete change, simply because the present situation is so well established. The nature of this influence will differ, depending upon the policies followed in construction and administration of the Project."

It is the description of the "present situation" which is so firmly established in the Central Valley that will be of most interest to rural sociologists. Among the characteristics typical of the area are the following:

(1) Farming has developed into an industrialized pattern which requires a large labor supply and high capital investments. This makes for "farming as a business" rather than "farming as a way of life."

(2) Large-scale operations play a dominant role in the agriculture of the area.

(3) Large-scale farms are frequently operated under a tenure pattern peculiar to California wherein operators specialize in a single commodity, renting suitable lands on an annual basis and shifting to new lands as the old cease to be productive for that particular crop.

(4) The heavy demand for labor and the unseasonal distribution of this demand is one of the major problems of the area.

(5) The large size of the farms and the requiring of a disproportionately large number of hired workers result in few opportunities for the development of the family-sized farm. This in turn gives rise to communities lacking in social integration and having poor social conditions as judged by almost any generally accepted standard of measurement.

(6) Since farming in this area is "big business" it tends to result in the concentration of economic controls in the hands of a few large corporations who finance and supervise both production and marketing operations. Employer associations are high-

ly developed and in the past have made a consistent effort to prevent the organization of labor and occasionally even to hinder programs for its welfare.

The report is not likely to be very heartily endorsed by the Associated Farmers, but it should prove especially useful to teachers of courses in regional sociology.

NATHAN L. WHETTEN.

The University of Connecticut.

Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography. Bulletin 54. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946. Pp. xi + 177. \$1.75.

This monograph (Bulletin 54 of the Social Science Research Council) is the result of the labors of a distinguished group of historians in "... preparing a manual designed to clarify thought about history and to aid historians in teaching and writing it." (P. vii). Contributors include Charles A. Beard, John Herman Randall, Jr., George Haines IV, Howard K. Beale, Sidney Hook, Merle Curti, Louis Gottschalk, Ronald Thompson, and others. The Committee grappled with many fundamental problems, and their conclusions and suggestions will be long worth intensive study by historians and other social scientists.

The manual exemplifies the increasing emphasis in American social sciences upon greater methodological and philosophical clarity in research operations. The first five chapters deal with: grounds for a reconsideration of historiography; major influences affecting the study and writing of history in America during the past 75 years; the problem of "causality" as illustrated in historical treatment of the Civil War; the problems of definition and terminology in historical study; and basic propositions submitted as a guide to historical method. The last chapter consists of a selective reading list on historiography and philosophy of history.

The Committee has succeeded in posing sharply a number of highly significant questions; like most "symposia," however,

the manual is less successful in providing consistent pro tem resolutions of the problems. If misery loves company, rural sociologists may be "comforted," although perhaps not "encouraged," by the obvious struggles of our colleagues in history to deal with such problems as "bias," the nature of scientific abstraction, the imputation of causes, and criteria for the selection of facts. (For example, in a dissenting footnote Charles Beard and Alfred Vagts hold that the terms "cause" and "causality" should never be used in written history).

This reviewer finds it impossible to accept a number of the Committee's formulations: e.g., the assertion that social data are more "complex" and changing than physical data. (Pp. 138-139.) Complexity is in large part a matter of the kind of scientific abstraction employed, and is not inherent in the "substantive" nature of the respective phenomena. At the same time nothing but praise is appropriate for such points as the Committee's forthright emphasis on the inevitability of selection among facts and the need for making value premises explicit. Sidney Hook's treatment of causation is a model of clear and concise reasoning.

ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.

Cornell University.

Nowhere Was Somewhere. By Arthur E. Morgan. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. 234. \$2.50.

Writing utopias is a favorite pastime of bored men of opulence and social misfits. Writing term themes and innocuous books about them is an excellent punishment for graduate students and a let-down for men retiring from more exacting activities. *Nowhere Was Somewhere* falls into the latter category. Past presidents of colleges and ex-directors of T.V.A.'s would likely find chewing on More's *Utopia*, Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Prescott's *The Conquest of Peru*, and many others, but by no means all the important, utopias a fascinating experience. Little does it matter that exegetic out-

bursts of this kind as well as the utopias themselves are plentiful. Such authors cannot escape the illusion that only they of all men are passing familiar with them.

This book speculates about the significance of utopia, the model for utopia, the characteristics of utopias, why they fail, and other questions including their sources. It has an appendix on early voyages to South America, generous annotations, and an index. It relates the formation of constitutions to utopias, and makes an object lesson of the Inca civilization. The origins of utopias are somehow the visions of old men, the romances of classic Greek poets, and the inspirations of oriental messiahs. The failure of utopias is ascribed to the enormous time necessary for their realization, an over exaggeration of their virtues and a neglect of their faults, their dilutions with ordinary human perversities, and their neglect of the education necessary to harmonize the mind with utopian aims. The hypothetical nonsense upon which utopias are built provokes little reflection other than a rather esoteric allegation of the immutability of human nature.

If a book like this has any potential use other than as a source of confusion for women's study clubs and as a form of vicarious amusement for men with hardened arteries, it is not apparent. Its delightful style and plausible erudition should assure it that use.

OTIS DURANT DUNCAN.

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Industrial Relations and the Social Order.

By Wilbert E. Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. xii + 555. \$4.00.

This book is largely the product of the author's experience in teaching a course in "Industrial Sociology." He states that "the organization of the book reflects the two major aspects of the social characteristics of industry, namely, the industrial plant as a complex social organization, and the relationship of industry to society."

Sections on "Management," "Labor" and "Industrial Relations" treat the social relations and problems within industry. The two other major sections of the book focus attention on the relationship between industry and society. The four principal relationships of this type are described as (1) "the social life of the industrial personnel," (2) "industry and culture," (3) "industry and the community," and (4) "political and legal controls of industrial activity."

The discussion of industrial management includes such topics as patterns of industrial organization, "the growth of professional management," "the functions of executives, supervisors and specialists," and "social and technical efficiency." Other subjects which stand out as especially well developed from a social and psychological standpoint are "the worker and the machine," "the informal organization of workers" and "industrial conflict." The discussion of the interaction between industry and the rest of society, however, appears to be less of a contribution than the subject matter just enumerated. The chapter on "Social Classes and the Industrial Order," is hardly more than a condensation of the material that one would expect to find on Social Class in an Introductory Sociology text.

In chapters on "Capitalism, Science and Technology" and "Individualism and the Division of Labor," the author points out how modern industrialism partakes of and in turn influences the rest of the culture. The book is concluded by a suggestive chapter on "Prospects and Problems of Economic Planning."

Even though industrialism is not as yet a dominant characteristic of rural society, this publication may be of definite interest to those rural sociologists who are concerned with "applied sociology." For here is a forthright attempt to make sociological concepts and principles useful for those working in a given field.

Good scholarship is exhibited by the explicit definition of basic concepts, the extensive and relevant bibliography at the end of each chapter, the suggestive footnotes and economy in the use of words. The pub-

lishers might have improved the readability of the book by printing the subtitles in black-face type so they would have stood out rather than allowing them to blend in with the typography of the page.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN.

University of Kentucky.

Democratic Human Relations. By Hilda Taba and William Van Til. Washington, D. C.: The National Council for the Social Studies, 1945. Pp. 366. \$2.00. (paperbound), \$2.30 (clothbound).

Few educators or students of national and international problems question the necessity of inter-cultural education. A small handful have recognized intergroup and intercultural education as a "field" deserving special consideration and as requiring specially trained personnel. Perhaps the greatest contribution of *Democratic Human Relations* is the fact that its assembled evidence convinces one that this is a problem which will never be solved by present casual unorganized methods.

The volume has gained as well as lost by its multiple authorship. Experts have illuminated sections with their individual points of view as in the section on "Some Basic Concepts in the Education of Ethnic and Lower-Class Groups" by Allison Davis. On the other hand the repeated recording of outlines in the first few chapters contributes little to the value of the study. In a Yearbook such a survey of existing devices for intercultural education is entirely justified. But since this volume goes far beyond that stated function by giving occasional brilliant insights and bits of inspiration, one wishes there had been more illustration and less mere survey.

The discussion on the relative values of the "pervasive emphasis throughout the usual program" and the unit study approach should shock the complacency of thousands of well-intentioned teachers and leaders.

The meagerness of data on "community utilization" also presents a challenge. "It is paradoxical that an approach which again and again is recommended by specialists in

building good human relations is neglected." (p. 226) Likewise, the need for evaluation is reiterated as is the necessity for clear formulation of goals rather than generalized good intentions. Some good suggestions for spelling out aims are included.

The section on "Materials and Sources" is a "must" for all leaders of intergroup activities and for all social science teachers interested in intercultural problems—and what social science teacher is not?

The emphases throughout are the total growth and development of the individual and the integration of the individual into democratic society.

BELLE BOONE BEARD.

Vanderbilt University.

The Bill of Social Rights. By Georges Gurvitch. New York: International Universities Press, 1946. Pp. 152. \$2.00.

"To supplement the political Bill of Rights with a social Bill of Rights means to proclaim the rights of workers, of consumers, and of common men as groups and as individuals to take part effectively in all aspects of life and of advancing civilization, in creative work, in security, in well-being, in education and culture, as well as to participate actively in all possible manifestations of jural autonomy, of democratic supervision and control by those concerned, of self-government and judicial procedure."

Thus the author states at the end of his introductory chapters his ideas which represent the fruit of fifteen years of research. Clearly we cannot in a few words pass judgment on the value of his actual proposal.

We can, however, stress his concept of pluralism; not a system of checks and balances within the political organization of a democracy, but rather the interpenetration of this political system with economic self-government of citizen groups. Professor Gurvitch distinguishes three aspects of social pluralism: (1) *the fact* that nothing in the social microcosm is an independent and

singly working entity; (2) *the ideal* that synthesizes liberty and equality on the basis of fraternity; (3) *the technique* by which groups succeed in economic representation. Such techniques want to plan economy on the basis of self-government of workers and consumers, and use several methods of which "education through law" is one of the most important.

The author mentions antecedents of such a Bill of Rights, points at utility and obstacles and—like a good lawyer—prepares the ground for his *plaidoyer*. He does all of this eloquently, with thorough scholarship, clearly and logically.

The draft of a Bill of Social Rights forms the second and main part, followed by an explanatory report on motives. It may be noted that while the author labors on Marxian premises, he very carefully stresses individual property; asks for a double remuneration for the worker, salary and "labor shares" in the worker's name and non-transferable. (Art. XIII) He distinguishes clearly between individual and collective property, the latter again subdivided into social and public property. Dr. Gurvitch then points to the right to work and labor, to rest and retirement, to education, to free migration, and many others.

The author visualizes an industrialized nation rather than an agricultural community; thus, rural sociologists will find little pertaining to their field of specialization. It is, however, obvious that all groups within a given society are subject to the authors pluralistic theory which to this reviewer seems to have considerable practical value.

JOSEPH H. BUNZEL.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

The Contributions of Extension Methods and Techniques Toward the Rehabilitation of War-Torn Countries. By United States Department of Agriculture Extension Service and Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations. Washington, D. C., 1945. Pp. 239.

This is a report of a conference held at Washington, D. C., September 19-22, 1944,

to develop information necessary to answer questions pertaining to contributions that extension education can make to the rehabilitation and agricultural development of the war-torn countries of the world. Its objectives were announced as informal, unofficial, and non-political. It was not an international conference, nor did any of those who took part in it officially represent any agency or government. The report includes committee reports, a few selected addresses, and briefer consultants' statements.

The conference itself was organized around nine major areas; the Balkans, Southwestern Europe, the Middle East, Western Europe, Central Europe, the Northern Countries, India, Eastern Asia, and Southeastern Asia. A report is given for each of these regions, concerned, in the main, with the following: (1) a brief description of each region and the significant points in its culture; (2) description and evaluation of the extension history and experiences of each country; and (3) the development and interpretation of the guiding principles of extension education applicable to each country. There is also a brief committee report of extension by private agencies.

Anyone reading this report will be impressed with its timeliness, but also with the difficulty of the task undertaken for, as is repeatedly emphasized, extension must be geared to the culture of the people it would serve if it is to have any measurable degree of acceptance.

This report is a resource book, and not a statement for continuous reading. The different reports show varying degrees of analysis and interpretation. The reviewer was particularly impressed with the reports on the Northern countries of Europe and on Eastern Asia because it seems they had really gotten to the "grass roots." However, all of the reports are revealing and encouraging.

Although one cannot escape the feeling that this report could have been improved by more thorough editing, it has been brought together somewhat as a unit in

the summary. Here we are reminded that extension is a "grass roots" movement; that it must be developed "in harmony with the culture of the people" it would reach, but that similarities are to be seen even among varying cultures; that extension must deal with conditions and needs as they exist; that programs should be worked out *with* groups of local farmers and homemakers—not *for* them; that these programs must be concerned with serving the farm, the home, and the community as a whole; and that they must be flexible. Caution is also given as to the type of person who should be selected to do extension work.

One of the heartening things about this report to rural sociologists should be the prominent way in which rural sociologists have shared in it—as conference chairmen, as conference summarizer, as key speakers and as consultants, as members of all of the committees and chairmen of two of them. Rural Sociology in the United States has expanded its vision world-wide. It must be careful to do this, however, without neglecting the "grass roots" approach here at home.

A. F. WILEDEN.

University of Wisconsin.

The Feilding Community Centre. By A. E. Campbell. Wellington: New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1945. Pp. 79. Four Shillings and Sixpence.

Some six years ago *Rural Sociology* carried a brief review of H. C. D. Somerset's *Littledene*, the first survey of a village centered agricultural community to come from New Zealand. It has proven to be the Council for Educational Research's best seller over the years. Even before its publication, Mr. and Mrs. Somerset had taken charge of the Community Centre of the Feilding Agricultural School, following a year of study and observation in the United States.

The Centre grew in part out of this trip, though the School and its headmaster had long been community-centered as to program. It was felt that the time had come for a "bold experiment" in community or-

ganization, majoring in adult education and recreation. The experiment has been conducted successfully for nearly eight years. Last year it was studied intensively by Mr. Campbell, the director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research.

The program has included classes in child study, nutrition, health, home decoration, marriage planning, music, art, psychology, English language and literature, foreign languages, and practical arts. There have also been a public affairs forum, a drama club, a family film club and numerous recreational and war activities, together with much assistance to teachers, farmers and many others. Close relations have been maintained with the schools, library, churches, trade unions and other institutions.

These things Mr. Campbell describes and evaluates in something over half of this small, but useful, book.

The community organization movement has aroused much interest in New Zealand in the last years. Some pamphlets and leaflets from the United States have been well circulated. Mr. Campbell, after a chapter of suggestions, concludes that the experiment has succeeded, that it should be emulated elsewhere, but that not until this happens should an effort be made to develop such centers throughout all New Zealand.

EDWARD DES. BRUNNER.

Columbia University.

Intellectual Trends in Latin America.

Papers Read at a Conference on Intellectual Trends in Latin America, Sponsored by the Institute of Latin-American Studies of the University of Texas. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1945. Pp. 148.

This book, consisting of a collection of twelve papers concerning Latin America, will prove useful to those persons who are looking for and realizing the importance of an understanding of our Latin American neighbors. For interest and sheer readability I especially recommend Enrico Veris-

simo's paper, "Contemporary Trends in Brazilian Literature."

From the maze of facts presented, both historical and contemporary, several points stand out clearly:

(1) Pervading contemporary outgrowth of Latin American intellectual life is the spirit of nationalism, both a cause and a result of the 20th century revolutionary period, after which time Latin America's feeling of inferiority and tendency toward eclecticism began to be overshadowed by a dawning self-consciousness and a realization of her own potentialities.

(2) Latin America lags far behind North America in sciences and the scientific approach. Much of this is due to the mental make-up of the Latin American individual who, although gregarious, is so much of an individualist that "he resents the discipline of the group." Latin Americans approach even government and politics from the standpoint of artistry rather than of science, seeing no clear line "between scholarly investigation and political criticism." This lack of the scientific approach to life is shown in a "strongly negative reaction to positivism."

(3) Feeling more at ease in the field of imagination than of reason, Latin America has progressed farthest in those forms of expression which place "more accent upon imagery than upon realism."

(4) Aided by her new, self-conscious attitude, Latin America is now making good progress toward understanding and taking care of her own needs.

JOHN R. BERTRAND.

Sam Houston State Teachers' College.

Tomorrow's Trade. By Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945. Pp. x + 156. \$1.00.

In this treatise the author gives historical and logical reasons for the rise and fall of free-trade and the gold standard periods of world commerce, and introduces the managed currency era. He shows that in international trade the elemental equation is: Stuff for Stuff.

United States played Santa Claus following World War I to the amount of 24 billion dollars, counting the excess export goods made from our resources by our toil, over the value of imports including services in return. This also brought much ill-will from other nations in the cancellation of bad debts, defaulted bonds and reparations.

Mr. Chase shows how maladjustments in world commerce may lead to exploitation of natural resources and the impoverishment of the people of a nation. His summarizing formula is:

"The stuff we produce, as a nation,
Plus the stuff we import,
Less the stuff we export,
Is a measure of our standard of living."

With the defeat of Japan the Big Three nations have a virtual monopoly of military power, and all have vast natural resources. None will be bothered with an inferiority complex or those Have-not blues which caused Hitler to consume so many rugs. None has had to drop bombs on another in the course of liberation. Thus no near World War III is contemplated.

It is shown that at Dumbarton Oaks the Big Three drafted a new League of Nations, known as United Nations, which would, among other things, give formal representation to the rest of the world where small powers could air grievances for peaceful solution. The Big Three constitute the political core of the post-war world. They will determine the shape of tomorrow's trade.

For better foreign commerce the author recommends:

First—Apply the compensatory device to maintain full employment at home.

Second—Figure out what we need and want from abroad and arrange to get it without having it scale high tariff walls.

Third—Use exports to balance imports on a stuff-to-stuff basis, and to build up the economic strength and the standard of living of friendly nations.

Fourth—Adopt the Bretton Woods proposals for better currency and banking, and

also international agencies as they are needed.

Fifth—In the words of David Cushman Coyle, "throw whatever cold water is handy on the efforts of either government or business to push American goods and services abroad without providing for corresponding imports." Let us have no permanent Santa Claus program.

WARREN O'HARA.

Indiana Farm Bureau Educational
Department.

American Foundations for Social Welfare.

By Shelby M. Harrison and F. Emerson Andrews. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1946. Pp. 249. \$2.00.

This is the latest edition of the directory of American foundations which the Russell Sage Foundation has published for a number of years. After a careful check of their voluminous files and those of other agencies 505 bona fide "foundations for social welfare" were discovered. The descriptive directory gives the addresses, and where information was supplied, a brief note on the purposes of the organization and the amount of funds they administer.

In this edition of the directory approximately 100 pages are given to a discussion of the "foundation idea" and to some of the problems which arise in carrying out the "idea." Foundations are discussed by type, method of organization, and fields of activity. Some observations on the financial problems common to foundations are made. "Trends and possible developments" of American foundations are briefly mentioned.

The discussions are urbane. The authors are clearly aware that foundations are not immune to the common evils of the community. The fact is foundations have been apt at creating their own specialized abuses, while enjoying many of the every-day vagaries. It is apparently not easy to get information on the activities of some foundations. Of the 505 listed, 49 declined to give information and 92 did not reply to the repeated requests for information. That no information could be obtained from al-

most 30 per cent of the organizations is an interesting commentary on American foundations for social welfare. All too many have aspects of family trust funds managed from the office of the family lawyer, while enjoying special privileges as public-welfare organizations. This charge applies particularly to the smaller foundations. Many of the larger foundations are anxious that the public know about their programs.

The authors have performed a useful task. Students and researchers will find many uses for this directory and the comments serve as an informative introduction.

ROBERT W. HARRISON.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

The Process of Persuasion. By Clyde R. Miller. New York: Crown Publishers. 1946. Pp. 234. \$2.00.

Dr. Miller, probably best known as the founder of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, has written in popular style a very persuasive little book on persuasion. Evidently his objective, which nowhere becomes quite explicit, is to render his readers sensitive to all the current modes of conscious social control. By alerting their "critical faculty," and conditioning them to a characteristic reliance on their own creative thinking, he would free them from involuntary bondage to the subtle techniques of "evil" and selfish persuasion.

The first half of the book is a survey of "human behavior, conditioning and language as backgrounds of persuasion." The remainder deals with four basic persuasion devices: those causing acceptance—"virtue" devices; those causing rejection—"poison" devices; those employing testimonials to cause acceptance or rejection; and those reinforcing all the other devices by exploiting the common human desire to be identified with groups.

In terms of the author's objective he has done an admirable job. Painlessly he introduces the unscholarly reader to a wide range of literature bearing on persuasion: William Graham Sumner, Thorstein Veblen, William James, Upton Sinclair, Lincoln

Steffens, Stuart Chase, Hadley Cantril, Dale Carnegie, and others.

Miller himself is no amateur at the art of persuading—drawing on the daily press and popular magazines, invoking names, symbols, even religious authority, and dramatizing by vivid figures. But he is perhaps overly optimistic when he concludes (p. 231): "It seems likely that if we can get ten per cent of the people to use their critical faculty and make their judgments in terms of humane goals, they'll influence enough of the balance to abort the persuasions that bring about panics and mass phobias."

EDGAR A. SCHULER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics.

Problems of the Countryside. By C. S. Orwin. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1946. Pp. 111. \$1.25.

This little book, Number 26 in the Current Problems series edited by Sir Ernest Barker, describes the low ebb to which agriculture and village life have fallen in England and points to two major remedies. Many people will like one or the other of them, but few will like both.

English farmers, he contends, have not made satisfactory progress since the agricultural depression of the 1880's. The countryman has become dependent upon government aid, and agricultural villages in contrast to the towns do not furnish the necessary services for good living. Young people leave the countryside to work in town or city. Organization for war production brought many changes but no revolution either in agriculture or village life. Two thorough-going revolutions are necessary to remedy the situation:

1. Farms should be reorganized with 600 acres as a minimum, planned and rebuilt for modern agricultural technology and modern scientifically educated management to furnish a modern living.

2. Village life must be revolutionized along the lines of the urban community

with village-centered industries. Only by enlargement and reconstitution of the village community can its people be adequately served and have the fuller social life they need. Here the author brushes aside without serious consideration the active participation of farmers in the life of the town which is probably the most adequate remedy from the longtime economic point of view.

How these revolutions are to be brought about is not clear. There is no demand for thoroughgoing reform within the industry, and villagers generally are apathetic. Obviously, this book was written to influence the government planners rather than the farmers. However, it must be pointed out that democratic revolutions do not occur without the interest and combined effort of the people concerned.

RAY E. WAKELEY.

Iowa State College.

Social Research On Health. By Otis Durant Duncan and Others. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1946. Pp. 212. \$1.00.

Social Research On Health is a report of the work group, of which O. D. Duncan was chairman, on research in the social aspects of health. The study was sponsored by the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council.

Six fields of interest in health research are recognized and these are developed in some detail: general, economic, historical, political science, psychological, and sociological. In fact, Chapter III consists of a series of topical outlines in the six fields around which specific research projects can be developed. Those who make use of the memorandum may find Chapter IV the most valuable part of the whole report. It presents a number of project statements for each of the six categories.

Chapter V, "Methods of the Social Sciences With Special Reference to Health Research" will be read with mixed emotions. The section, was perhaps, necessary in order to carry out the plan as outlined

in the first chapter. On the other hand, it left this reviewer with a feeling that this was entirely too much of the "six easy lessons" approach. For example, "The Nature of Science" is disposed of in about one and one-half pages and "The Field Survey Method" is cared for in the space of a half-page, as is the "Historical Method." Two and one-half pages are given to a treatment of the "Statistical Method."

Chapter VI consists of 44 pages of bibliographical materials. This section will not be as useful as it might otherwise have been because of one very fundamental weakness, namely, the omission of the date of publication for many of the references. Very few research workers will be able to match volume number and year for most of the Journals and other publications cited.

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

Outline of Family and Civilization. By Carle C. Zimmerman. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Phillips Book Store, 1946. Pp. 18. \$65.

This outline gives the basic hypotheses of the author on the relationship between historical family systems and types of social life and suggests readings for certain types of family systems of Western societies. The author holds that historically there have been three types of families: trustee, domestic, and atomistic. He believes that the first two of these have resulted in social control while the latter has stimulated social disorganization. In the trustee family the power of kin and household, husband-wife relationships, and control of children by parents is very strong. In the domestic type the power of kin and household diminishes but husband-wife and parent-child controls remain very strong. In the atomistic family the control by the family is very weak and individualism is very strong. The author believes that the type of family at any given time determines the kind of civilization of the period. He has the theory that the "re-appearance in the modern social systems of unexplained brutality on a wholesale

scale . . . probably is due to break-up of the familistic system." Consequently, reorganization of modern societies depends on reinstituting the domestic type of family which "makes the high degree of civilization possible." The outline will have little utility for courses based on research findings of current family behavior.

H. J. LOCKE.

University of Southern California.

Georgia Facts in Figures. By Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1946. Pp. xviii + 179. \$2.00.

On the cover it is stated that this is "A Source Book." The presentation of 226 detailed exhibits is made more comprehensive by the column in each table showing Georgia's percentage of the corresponding United States total. Such a compilation of approximately 50,000 Georgia items is a tribute to the more than eight years of unselfish cooperation of civic, educational, commercial, social and religious organizations representing the Fact-Finding Movement. To show what the book tells would be to quote the titles of the 226 exhibits. Suffice it to say that the contents cover: Natural, human and man-made resources; agriculture, industry and commerce; health, education and public welfare; government, politics, public finance and religious groupings.

The statistics are made more readable and more interesting by frequent use of charts, maps and drawings. It is further improved by a very complete alphabetical index of over 2,000 subjects.

For any person, organization or institution wishing to have access to facts about Georgia, this is a very valuable source. The very details, down to county units, of how many births and deaths; causes of deaths by age groups; the number of popular votes received by political aspirants; numbers affiliated with each religious sect; climatic details; income and indebtedness, etc. are clearly set out for the reader to find quickly.

An additional striking feature of this

Georgian Encyclopedia of facts is the note to the reader by the Administrator. It tells of the organization of the "Movement" and many of its joys and trials. It is surely a benevolent piece of work.

ROY E. PROCTOR.

University of Georgia.

Rural Hunterdon. By Hubert G. Schmidt. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1946. Pp. 331. \$3.50.

This is an agricultural history of a predominantly rural county in New Jersey. The research for this history was begun in 1938 when the author became the recipient of a two-year fellowship established at Rutgers University by the Hunterdon County Board of Agriculture. Manuscripts, diaries, account books, local census schedules, minute books and records of organizations, official county records, and local newspapers are the chief sources upon which the book is based. Much of this material had been gathered together and preserved by the Hunterdon County Historical Society.

After presenting a general picture of the county, the author deals with the movement of people into and out of the county. Next, he traces the story of land ownership and use; buildings, equipment, and methods; crops; animal husbandry; transportation; communication; trade; industry; and labor. In the last two chapters of the book the author deals with the level of living, some of the more recent changes in the agriculture of the county, and the forces which are bringing these changes about.

The writer has done an excellent piece of historical research. However, a few technical errors occur. For example, the author (p. 265) refers to the level of living as the standard of living. More studies of this kind are needed for they throw light upon the present problems of the agricultural county, and furnish a necessary basis for the study of the social and institutional development of the county.

GERARD SCHULTZ.

University of Missouri.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work. Selected Papers, Seventy-Second Annual Meeting. New York: Columbia University Press, 1945. Pp. x + 407. \$5.00.

This volume, consisting of selected papers prepared to be presented at the National Conference of Social Work, is an example of the adaptability of a professional group when the exigencies of war prevent its regular meeting. The selection of papers indicates careful thought and attention to the varied interests of the different groups of social workers represented in the National Organization.

The beginning paper, "A Year of Decision for Social Work," by Dr. Ellen C. Potter, sets forth in concise terms some major problems facing social workers today. It is followed by six papers dealing with national and world issues facing us. After this introductory section, there follow seven groups composed of from three to five papers each, dealing with selected fields of social work.

While this is not the type of book that will appeal to the general reader, it is a valuable work for the professional social worker and the serious student of social affairs. Except for the personal contacts, which are of great value, this volume offers a good substitute for the annual meeting which it represents.

WAYNE T. GRAY.

DePauw University.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology. By H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946. \$5.00.

Production Credit for Southern Cotton Growers. By A. E. Nielsen. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. x + 198. \$2.50.

The Roots of American Loyalty. By Merle Curti. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. x + 267. \$3.00.

Warriors Without Weapons. By Gordon MacGregor. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946. Pp. 228. \$3.75.

A Negro's Faith in America. By Spencer Logan. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1946. Pp. vi + 88. \$1.75.

Secondary Education in the South. Edited by W. Carson Ryan, J. Minor Gwynn and Arnold K. King. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946. Pp. xi + 267. \$3.00.

Beyond Supply and Demand. By John S. Gambs. New York: Columbia University Press, 1946. Pp. 105. \$1.60.

The South Carolina Rice Plantation. By J. H. Easterby. Chicago: University of

Chicago Press, 1945. Pp. xxi + 478. \$5.00.

The Peoples of the Soviet Union. By Corliss Lamont. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946. Pp. viii + 229. \$3.00.

USDA, Manager of American Agriculture. By Ferdie Deering. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945. Pp. xvi + 213. \$2.50.

The Rural South: A Reading Guide for Community Leaders. Edited by H. C. Brearley and Marian Tippet. Nashville, Tennessee: The Southern Rural Life Council, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1946. Pp. v + 86. \$.75.

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited By Leland B. Tate

THE RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Constitution

Article I. *Name.* This organization shall be called the Rural Sociological Society.

Article II. *Objects.* The objects of this society shall be to promote development of rural sociology, through research, teaching, and extension work.

Article III. *Affiliation.* This society shall be affiliated with the American Sociological Society.

Article IV. *Members.* Any person professionally employed in the field of rural sociology or who is interested in the objects of this society, may become a member upon the vote of the executive committee and the payment of annual dues.

Article V. *Officers.* The officers of the society shall consist of a president, a vice president, and a secretary-treasurer, whose duties shall be those usually appertaining to those offices.

A representative of the Rural Sociological Society on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society shall be elected every third year in the same manner as the officers of the Society.

Article VI. *Executive Committee.* The Executive Committee shall consist of the officers, the retiring president, and one other member to be elected by the society. The Executive Committee shall be the governing body of the society, except insofar as the society delegates governmental functions to officers or to other committees independent of or in cooperation with the Executive Committee.

Article VII. *Elections.* The officers and elected member of the Executive Committee shall be elected annually by a majority of the members voting.

Article VIII. *Annual Meeting.* The society shall meet annually. The time and place of meeting shall be determined by the Executive Committee.

Article IX. *Amendments.* The constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote of those present and voting at any annual meeting, *provided* that written notice of any proposed amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

By-Laws

Article I. *Membership Dues*

Section 1. Any person interested in the objects of the society may become a member upon application and recommendation by a member of the society and favorable vote of the Executive Committee.

Section 2. The annual dues for active members shall be three dollars per annum, and shall entitle the member to the publications of the society. Students of educational institutions may become members upon the payment of two dollars per annum.

Article II. *Standing Committees*

Section 1. There shall be three standing committees on research, teaching, and extension. Each of these committees shall be composed of three members, one to be elected each year for a term of three years in the same manner as the Executive Committee. The senior member of each committee shall act as its chairman. It shall be the duty of each of these committees to make inquiry as to the status and progress of that phase of rural sociology assigned to it, and to make such reports and recommendations to the society as it may see fit.

Section 2. The Executive Committee and the chairman of the three standing committees shall constitute a Program Committee for arranging the program of the annual meeting.

Article III. Publications

Section 1. The quarterly journal, **RURAL SOCIOLOGY**, shall be the official publication of the society and its management shall be vested in a board of editors to be elected by the society.

Section 2. The Board of Editors of **RURAL SOCIOLOGY** shall consist of five members, one to be elected each year for a term of five years in the same manner as the Executive Committee, and a managing editor. The Board of Editors shall elect from among its numbers an editor-in-chief, and shall appoint a managing editor to have charge of the management of the journal.

Section 3. Two dollars and fifty cents of the dues of each active member shall be paid to the managing editor for a subscription to **RURAL SOCIOLOGY**.

Section 4. The Board of Editors of **RURAL SOCIOLOGY** shall submit an annual report of its receipts and expenditures and of its general policies, with a purposed budget for the ensuing year. The Board of Editors shall not obligate the society for expenditures in excess of its receipts from subscriptions, advertising, and other sources.

Article IV. Elections

At the beginning of each year the president shall appoint a nominating committee of five members. This committee shall nominate three candidates for each position and report their names to the secretary before November first. Not later than November fifteenth the secretary shall mail to each member a ballot bearing the names of the three nominees for each position, which ballot to be valid shall be returned to him not later than November thirtieth in an envelope bearing the signature of the member. An election committee appointed by the president shall then canvass the ballots and shall report to the annual meeting the election of those who have received a plurality of the ballots cast.

Article V. Vacancies

The Executive Committee is empowered to fill any vacancies that may occur in the committees or among the officers of the society.

Article VI. Amendments

Amendments to these By-Laws may be proposed by the Executive Committee or by any member of the society, and shall be adopted by a majority vote of those present at the annual meeting, providing that the amendment shall be sent to the secretary by five members of the society not later than two months before the annual meeting and shall be transmitted by the secretary to the members of the society at least two weeks before the annual meeting.

Proposed Amendments

We, the undersigned, active members of the Rural Sociological Society, propose the following amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society.

- (1) To amend Article 7 of the Constitution by striking out the words "officers and elected" and substituting the words "president, vice president, and one other."
- (2) To amend Article 7 of the Constitution by adding the following sentence: "The secretary-treasurer shall be appointed by the other members of the Executive Committee."
- (3) To amend Article 1, Section 2 of the By-laws by adding the words "and fifty cents" between the words "three dollars" and the words "per annum."
- (4) To amend Article 1 of the By-laws by adding a new section—Section 3—reading as follows: "Any eligible person may become a life member of the Society through the payment of \$100.00."
- (5) To amend Article 4 of the By-laws by substituting the word "two" for the word "three" where it appears in lines two and five and by substituting the word "majority" for the word "plurality" in the last line.

T. LYNN SMITH
HOMER L. HITT
J. H. KOLB
G. W. HILL
W. A. ANDERSON
LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.

LETTER OF APPRECIATION

To: The Editors of RURAL SOCIOLOGY
 From: Mrs. Dwight Sanderson,
 107 Cayuga Heights,
 Ithaca, New York

I wish to express to you and your associates my deep appreciation of the fine tribute to my husband as expressed in the memorial number of RURAL SOCIOLOGY. I am very much pleased with the memorial number. It was well done but not overdone. I think Dwight would be pleased. He never sought acclaim for his work, but I think he would have a great sense of satisfaction in knowing what his associates think of his work and in what affection and esteem they hold him. I thank you for him.

With highest regards, I am
 Gratefully yours,
 (sgd) CECELIA SANDERSON.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF DECEMBER MEETING

Plans are in progress for a meeting of the Rural Sociological Society to be allied with The American Sociological Society meeting at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, Illinois, on Saturday, Sunday and Monday, December 28-29-30, 1946.

Louisiana State University. Professor William F. Ogburn of the University of Chicago will serve as Visiting Professor of Sociology here during the spring semester (February 3-May 31), 1947. This will bring to a close the program of inviting visiting professors of sociology to the campus, which was undertaken under the terms of a grant to the University from the General Education Board. The others who have participated in this program are Professor Carl M. Rosenquist of the University of Texas and Professors Lee M. Brooks and Rupert B. Vance of the University of North Carolina.

T. Lynn Smith was in South America during the summer. Under the terms of a grant from the Division of International Exchange of Persons of the U. S. Department of State, he went first to Bogotá, Colombia to continue his activities as ad-

visor to the government of Colombia on programs of colonization and settlement. Then he proceeded to Rio de Janeiro where he served as visiting professor at the University of Brazil during July and August. His lectures in Rio de Janeiro were upon the subject of Population Analysis.

New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts. Sigurd Johansen, Associate Professor of Sociology, has been granted six months leave to go to Brazil to work with the Inter-American Educational Foundation under the jurisdiction of the State Department.

North Carolina State College. Dr. C. Horace Hamilton, who has been on leave with the Commission on Hospital Care, Chicago returned to his former position as Head of the Department of Rural Sociology on September 1st. The report of the Commission on Hospital Care will be published by the Commonwealth Fund. In the meantime a number of reprints and news letters on rural hospital problems are available to those interested.

University of Rochester. The Department of Sociology is beginning a five-year study of the health attitudes and practices of a population as they are affected by hospitals' services. The study is being financed jointly by the University of Rochester and the Council of Rochester Region Hospitals under a grant from the Commonwealth Fund, and will be directed by Dr. Earl Lomon Koos, Chairman of the department. A panel of 500 families will be interviewed repeatedly by the research workers for the period of the study, and opinion surveys are to be conducted periodically by students in the department.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute. Dr. Leland B. Tate, who has been on leave since last September, in charge of rural health services for the Farm Foundation, Chicago, has resumed his work here in the college and the agricultural experiment station. He and Associate Professor C. L. Folse are revising

several undergraduate courses of study and expanding the number of graduate courses available for persons seeking the Master's degree in Rural Sociology.

While with the Farm Foundation, Dr. Tate contacted rural agencies, organizations, and leaders in twenty-nine states, made particular reconnaissance study of rural health matters in the South, prepared and distributed several brief reports, participated in numerous health meetings, and helped to sponsor and direct a special Southern Rural Health Conference at the Look-out Mountain Hotel near Chattanooga, Tennessee, June 25-27. Plans are in progress for publishing the proceedings of this conference and making them available to the more than sixty conference participants and hundreds of others interested in the South's rural health situation.

University of Wisconsin. The Department of Rural Sociology is in process of reconstruction following the war period. Dr. George W. Hill has returned from an extended wartime leave during which he served as Director of Program Planning, Office of Labor, War Food Administration, and later as advisor to the Venezuelan government on problems of immigration and land settlement. His monograph on immigration and land settlement in Venezuela is to be published in the near future by the Venezuelan Ministry of Agriculture.

Dr. William H. Sewell has joined the staff on a research and teaching assignment. Sewell was formerly Professor of Sociology and Rural Life at Aklahoma A. & M. College and during the war served as a Lieutenant in the U.S.N.R. During his period of naval service he was associated with the Research and Statistics Division of National Headquarters, Selective Service System and with the Morale Division of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. While with the Bombing Survey he served as a research leader in Japan and wrote the chapters of the Survey's report dealing with the influence of bombing on Japanese civilian morale.

Dr. John Useem, who was formerly Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Dakota and more recently Associate Professor of Sociology at Barnard College of Columbia University, is expected to join the staff in September as Research Project Associate under a grant from the Rockefeller Fund. He will devote a major portion of his time to the study of Wisconsin culture. Useem served as a military government officer, (Lt.-U.S.N.R.) in the Asiatic-Pacific area and at present is making a survey of military government on Pacific Islands. He has written extensively on problems of military government and acculturation.

Martin P. Andersen, who was recently released from active duty as a Lieutenant in the U.S.N.R., has been appointed Assistant Professor in the Extension Section of Rural Sociology. He will work primarily in the field of rural discussion groups.

Harald Pedersen, B.S., New Mexico State College and M.S., Louisiana State University; and LeRoy Day, B.A., University of Minnesota, B.D., Colgate College, Rochester and M.A., University of Wisconsin, have been appointed graduate research assistants in the department for the academic year 1946-47.

Dr. Douglas Marshall, who has been with the department during the past year, has accepted an Assistant Professorship in Rural Sociology, effective this fall, at the University of Minnesota.

Considerable expansion and revision of the teaching program of the rural sociology department has been made at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. Dr. Kolb will continue to offer his courses in Rural Life and a graduate seminar in rural sociology. Dr. Hill will teach an advanced course in rural community and welfare agencies as well as a graduate seminar in rural sociological research. In 1947-48 he plans to give a course in ethnic groups and rural population. Dr. Sewell is offering advanced courses in principles of rural sociology, the rural family, and techniques of rural sociological research. Professor John Barton will teach an introductory course in rural

organization and leadership and an advanced course in rural standards of living, as well as courses in the Farm Short Course. Professor Wileden, in addition to his work in rural sociology extension, is giving an intermediate and graduate seminar in rural community organization with special emphasis on methods and techniques in extension. Dr. Useem will offer a seminar in comparative social systems. In addition, a seminar on rural sociology in Latin America, Europe and Asia is being planned for 1947-48, with various staff members participating. The arrangement continues whereby graduate courses offered by the general sociology department count toward a major in rural sociology, and with the expansion

of the offerings in general sociology and rural sociology, the University now offers a richer variety of graduate courses in sociology than at any time in its history.

Professors Hill, Kolb, Sewell and Wileden continue with their experiment station research in addition to their other assignments. Dr. Kolb is resurveying the Walworth County rural communities which were studied originally by Dr. C. J. Galpin in 1913. He has completed his portion of the revision Kolb and Brunner—*A Study of Rural Society*—which will be ready for fall classes. Dr. Hill is continuing his studies of Wisconsin ethnic groups; Dr. Sewell will center his research about the rural family; and, Professor Wileden is completing his restudy of special interest groups.

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(*Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*)

Ferdinand Tönnies

*Translated and
Supplemented by*

Charles P. Loomis

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